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THE STANDARD.

THE LEGAL STATUS OF COLORED SOLDIERS.

Letter from Gov. Andrew to J. M. Langston.

Mr. OLIVER JOHNSON, *Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard, New York City.*

DEAR SIR: Enclosed find a letter from Gov. John A. Andrew of Massachusetts, which contains the *Law* of this country in regard to the status of colored soldiers in the American army. It is due the Governor of Massachusetts, it is due that old Commonwealth itself, that this letter should be published, in connection with the opinion of the Attorney-General of the United States, touching the pay of colored soldiers. To Gov. Andrew belongs the honor of inviting, in advance of all others, colored Americans, as men and citizens, to take up arms in defense of the government against the rebellion; and to him belongs the honor of first announcing, in clear and manly terms, the law in regard to their status. I am not alone in this opinion; for ex-Gov. Dennison of this State, after reading the letter, said to me that "Gov. Andrew certainly states the law; his logic is irresistible." Gov. Dennison then showed it to Judge Swayne, of the Supreme Court of the United States, and *he* said, "Gov. Andrew certainly states the law."

Respectfully, yours,

JOHN M. LANGSTON.

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS, EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, BOSTON, July 4th, 1863.

JOHN M. LANGSTON, *Esq., Oberlin, Ohio.*

DEAR SIR: By the Act of 17th July, 1862 (being Sect. 11, chap. 195), "the President of the United States is authorized to employ as many persons of African descent as he may deem necessary and proper for the suppression of this rebellion, and for this purpose *he may organize and use them in such manner as he may judge best* for the public welfare." By another act of the same date, being chap. 201, in the first sect., it is enacted that "*the enrolment of the militia shall in all cases* include *all* able-bodied male citizens between the ages of eighteen and forty-five." In Massachusetts, a man of color is in the enjoyment of the complete rights of citizenship. And the recent decision of the Attorney-General of the United States, agreed to, as I understand, by the President and all his Cabinet, affirms the citizenship of native born Americans, irrespectively of their color. The Act of Congress, last above cited, therefore, beyond any doubt, includes men of color in the enrolled militia.

The 12th section of that Act allows the President "to receive into the service of the United States for the purpose of constructing intrenchments, or performing camp service, or any other labor, or any military or naval service for which they may be found competent, persons of African descent, and such persons shall be organized under such regulations, not inconsistent with the Constitution and laws, as the President may prescribe." This section provides for a certain *quasi* military service under an organization of any sort, found convenient, and prescribed by the President—for work in the intrenchments, etc., etc.—the words, "or any military or naval service," etc., being, by a familiar rule of law, construable and interpreted in the light of the specified kinds of duty given to illustrate the general idea. Whenever the President organizes men for such special and limited duties (which he may do when he finds men of color who, although, by physical or other disability, are incapable of being accepted and enlisted and mustered in as *soldiers*), those men, those specially organized, *under that act*, will be payable in the manner prescribed in the proviso of the 15th section. Which proviso, you will perceive, only applies to the exceptional class of persons, who, being of African descent, shall be received into service and specially organized "*under this law.*" These sections were not intended to apply to those who, being citizens, should be drafted, nor could it apply to *soldiers* accepted, and mustered in as such. But they do apply to women as well as to men, and to those under, or over, military age, and to those who, though disabled in a military sense, "shall be employed" nevertheless under that law. This diminution of pay, it should be specially noticed, and therefore, I repeat it, applies only to persons of African descent "*employed under this law.*"

It does not, therefore, apply to members of a regular military corps, raised and mustered in as a regiment or company of State volunteers, but only to colored persons receiving at the outset a specially prescribed organization, adapted to them, not as *soldiers*, but as persons *received into service*, for camp service, labor, etc., and "employed *under this law.*" A person accepted, enlisted, mustered in, and armed and disciplined, as a soldier, and as a member of a regular volunteer regiment, passes at once out of the category of persons thus exceptionally employed, and thus exceptionally described and provided for in those sections of chap. 201. Under the Act first quoted, namely, chapter 195, the President has full power to organize colored men (see sect. 11 thereof) as soldiers, even though the word *white* had not been struck out of the Militia Enrolment law. If organized as soldiers, the law treats them as such. But the 12, 13 and 15 sections of the 201st chapter were adopted in order to provide the means for using, employing, receiving and dealing with the colored people "owing service" to rebel masters and even to loyal masters, coming within the lines and the reach of our armies, having special claims on the government, and in securing whose loyalty and in transferring whose services, of whatever sort, from the rebels to our own army, it had a peculiar interest. And it was intended to cover and include by specific and convenient provisions people of that class, viz: slaves, or former slaves, emancipated by, or escaping to, our armies, or being within our lines, who might need care and employment, and who, though not competent to be soldiers, in the strict sense, could nevertheless perform useful service to our armies, more or less menial, laborious, and even mechanical, and more or less military, without, however, becoming members of the army.

The President may, if he thinks fit, organize the colored people, or any of them, at or near Fortress Monroe, or in Louisiana, for example, in this way. But, that will not apply to any of our Massachusetts regiments. They are organized under a special order from the Department of War, for their recruitment, like all other troops, with the subject being well, explicitly and distinctly agreed on and understood by Mr. Stanton and myself. We even spoke together about the payment of $25 *bounty* to them in advance. He decided against it, but only on the ground that he would no longer permit it to be paid to *any* new organization. He put our colored regiments on the same platform with our other corps, as to rights and treatment. The order makes no exception. And that order is the basis and rule of their enlistment and organization. I have written thus at length because I am surprised that any of our friends should get the erroneous idea you have indicated; also, for the purpose of showing that it is competent for the President (and that practically means the Secretary of War) to prescribe, at the outset, a special, peculiar and exceptional organization for persons of African descent employed under the 201st chapter, if he chooses to do so at the beginning of any particular organization. Still, let me repeat, he may accept and organize any soldiers of African descent, under the 11th section of the 195th chapter, in all respects like all other soldiers, "*as he may judge best for the public welfare.*" And that he may do anywhere. But he has no power, however, to prescribe less pay to a soldier belonging to a regular military body, organized and mustered in *as soldiers* in the usual way, as a corps of State volunteers, than the laws themselves fix for such soldiers. If anyone has said anything of the kind, I presume it was an inadvertence, and not based on a careful view of the whole law.

But, however *that* may be, the Massachusetts regiments were organized, provided for and their *status* fixed on the same footing with other State volunteers.

And, in order to consult absolute clearness, let me add, and even repeat, that the exceptional organization alluded to and provided for in the 201st chapter of the Acts of 1861, is not strictly a *military* organization. It is only *quasi* military. The members are not strictly *soldiers*. They are "persons of African descent," whom the President may receive into the service of the United States for the purpose of constructing intrenchments, etc., etc., or any military or naval service for which they may be found competent. That is, they are "persons received"; some to dig, some to cook, some to police the camps, some to black boots and brush clothes, and the like, but yet liable to do other things coming within the category of either military or naval service, if found competent for any, and if directed to render any. Thus, such a "person" so "received" may be sent to be a boat-steerer, a cabin boy, an officer's servant, a cook, a watchman, a workman, or to do any other specific duty, whether mechanical, menial, military, or naval in its character. Such persons are taken by lump—taken as they come, taken for better or for worse—to be used for whatever use they may be found fit. But the class thus described in the Act does not include *soldiers* regularly mustered as military men. It does not include *soldiers mustered as such, and who are not* employed merely as servants, menials, or as mere experimental instruments of undefined uses and of unknown capacity, but who are clothed with the rank and function of *soldiers*. The man who has been inspected, enlisted, accepted and mustered in as such *is* a "soldier," not a "*contraband.*" That the President has the power to accept and organize colored *soldiers* is clear. The Act first cited proves that. Striking out the word "white" from the militia enrolment laws proves that. And why anyone should wish to pay any soldier, South or North, black or white, less than his $13 per month, clothing and rations, who fights for the flag, ably, bravely and truly, I cannot devise. How there can be a doubt about the law is equally mysterious. And yet the power to organize the exceptional class of "*contrabands*" alluded to is equally clear. That that class or organization is not military, and does not imply a body of soldiers, is also equally clear. As to the *policy* of the matter, I must speak with deference and modesty. And yet it is not less clear to my own judgment. The population of black men will afford us able-bodied, courageous, patient, enduring, obedient, and enthusiastic soldiers, inured to the climate of the South, who will fight for liberty and very life, while they fight also for us—for the country. I hope and trust the President will not allow himself to yield to any idea or impression that a man with the blood of African ancestors is only to be treated as a *nondescript*. If, for a moment, any hesitation exists about it, I am sure the mature opinion will soon be found correct. Since the fighting of colored men at Port Hudson, there can be no doubt of the dash and spirit of their oriental blood. And the aptness, facility, order, obedience, cleanliness and good behavior in camp of colored troops, have now been proved, in Massachusetts, in North Carolina, in South Carolina, and elsewhere, to be superior and exemplary, in the best sense.

But in order that I may answer your request for my opinion with completeness, allow me to turn back upon the discussion and renew its current in another form. If the argument leaves any remaining doubt, let me remind you that colored men serve as seamen in our Union Navy, that, so far as I am aware, they have always done so. They served at Hatteras Inlet in 1861. On board Commodore Stringham's flag ship, even, "contrabands," alone, from Fortress Monroe, served one of his guns. Nobody can pretend that any act of Congress limits the wages of an able seaman, acting as such, and in that capacity, below the same pertaining to his grade, merely because his genealogy can be traced to an African origin. For by the Act of Congress of March 3d, 1813 (2d stat. 809), such employment of colored persons is expressly authorized in these words, viz: "It shall not be lawful to employ on board any of the *public* or private vessels of the United States any person or persons *except* citizens of the United States *or persons of color, natives of the United States.*" And the pay of seamen, ordinary seamen and marines in the navy, is left by the Act of the 18th of April, 1824, sect. 1 (3. stat. 136), "to be fixed by the President."

The error of the suggestion I am combatting grows out of the impression (1) that the employment of "colored persons" is wholly novel, originating in the legislation of 1862. (2) That the intent of Congress was to provide that no such person, into whatever naval or military service he might be enlisted, should receive more than $10 per month and one ration, and that, too, irrespective of quality, merit or desert, and merely because of descent or color. (3) In not recognizing the fact, and the reason thereof, viz: That the provisions of sections 12, 13 and 15 of chap. 201, of the Acts of 1862, were adopted in order to use, care for, and dispose of, an exceptional class of persons, happening to be of African descent, concerning whom the contingencies of war demanded specific legislation, in order on the one hand to give them the means of living, and on the other hand, to transfer their services from the support of the enemy to that of our own government; and all this, irrespective of the fitness of any of those persons for either military or naval positions; but in the words of the statute, with a view to receive them "for any service for which they may be found competent."

How clear it is that a man like Robert Small, the heroic black pilot of Charleston, notwithstanding that he might have been at first received "into the service of the United States for the purpose of constructing intrenchments or performing camp service, or any other labor, or any military or naval service, for which [he might] be found competent," was nevertheless eligible under the Act of 1814, as a "*person of color, native of the United States*"—eligible to be employed on any of the public vessels of the United States! There he might be a seaman, an ordinary seaman, or a marine, a pilot, a carpenter, or otherwise, according to his enlistment. And thereto his pay and allowances would be regulated according to his grade, and by laws already referred to, which, as long ago as 1814, put native-born colored American seamen on a footing, in relation thereto, with citizens of the United States. At first, coming within our lines with his family, he might be only an unknown, uninspected "person of African descent," to be received into service, not yet as a seaman, nor as a marine, nor as a soldier, nor as any specific functionary whatsoever, but simply and only as a person, with whom, and for whom (under the circumstances of the country, and of the class of persons he belonged to) something ought to be done—to be used according to circumstances and his own capacity when ascertained. But now enlisted in the navy, he becomes a member of a specific corps, with specific duties and rights, and is to be employed according to the functions which pertain to men of his grade and rank in the naval service. But again. A colored man, or a person of African descent, not only now is, but has been, ever since 1813, eligible "*to enlist into the Army of the United States,*" if he comes under the general description contained in the words "*any free, effective, able-bodied man between the ages of 18 and 50 years.*" For all such may be enlisted under the Act of 10th Dec., 1814, sec 1 (3d stat. 146). That Act, unlike the old Militia Act, makes no limitation as to color; and includes all men, effective and able-bodied, though above 45 years old, if within the age of fifty. So that any "person of African descent" might, if within the age limited, and if "a free, effective, able-bodied man," be enlisted into the regular army. And when there, his pay would be governed by the laws relating to soldiers of his rank, and not by any provisions of chap. 221, of the Acts of 1862, which apply, as I have heretofore repeatedly remarked, only to an exceptional, uninspected, unclassified body of persons not accepted into either the army or the navy.

So, also, for aught there is written in the laws, to the contrary—even before any legislation of the year of 1862, and notwithstanding the limitation of the old Militia Act of 1792—a colored man of African descent might have been enlisted and accepted as a member of a volunteer corps. An artificial *practice*, following the analogy of the old militia law, did, as a rule, however, exclude men of color. And yet, in more than one instance, I have known "persons of African descent" serving as volunteers in white regiments, during the present war. Only a few days since such a person was, at his own request, transferred from his regiment, belonging to a State other than Massachusetts, to our 55th regiment, composed of enlisted men of color.

Now, therefore, the enactment contained in chap. 195, sec. 11, of the Acts of 1862, on which I relied in beginning this letter (thus simplifying the argument), becomes in point of real verity, as I think unnecessary. No preëxisting law made it necessary. But the practice, under the law, due to public sentiment, rendered it, in a high degree, expedient. Colored men were not, as a rule, accepted into the same regiments with white men. Therefore it was enacted "That the President of the United States is authorized to employ as many persons of African descent as he may deem necessary and proper for the purpose of suppressing this rebellion, *and for this purpose he may organize and use them in such manner as he may judge best for the public welfare.*"

Thus, then, he may organize them into separate volunteer regiments, or battalions, or companies of soldiers, under the Acts authorizing the President to accept volunteers. This was done in the case of the two regiments of colored men raised in Massachusetts. When the men had been officered, inspected, accepted, and mustered in, as volunteer soldiers (having been organized in the manner "judged by the President best for the public welfare"), they constituted a regiment of volunteer soldiers, organized as such in the military service of the United States, clothed with military functions, the liabilities and duties of the laws of war, subject to all the pains that code imposes on military persons for cowardice or any disobedience, even to the extreme penalty of death, and in like manner, and for the same reasons, entitled, under the law, to all the rights and emoluments of their rank and grades, as sergeants, corporals, or privates, in that service.

Let me add in further reply to your letter that it is only needful, therefore, for the Governor of Ohio to receive authority from the Department of War to raise one or more regiments of volunteers. Let the order giving that authority expressly cover colored men; or let the United States mustering officer be directed to accept men, notwithstanding color or African descent. And, then, the soldier thus enlisted and organized, not only *may*—but (I respectfully, though with absolute confidence, hold and affirm) *must* be paid, according to the laws which fix the pay of soldiers in the volunteer army.

I trust there will be no hesitation or delay. The government will do right. The Secretary at War, as soon as the argument is once stated to, and received by him, I have no manner of doubt, will free your minds, by prompt, decisive and correct action. But at all events, right will take place and justice will be done.

Louder than ten thousand thunders is the call which this day utters in the ears of all men in whose veins flow the blood of Africa, and whose color has been the badge of slavery. The accumulated woes of many generations give direction and emphasis to the duty of to-day. The opportunity of years, now crowded into an hour, visits you and beckons, entreats, commands you to come, come *now*, come *instantly*, come with a shout, and receive the baptism which is to admit you into the glorious company of the peoples of every clime and of every hue, who by their own blood have vindicated their *right* to all the blessings, and all the powers of liberty—and to whose own right arms the Lord of Hosts has given the victory.

I am respectfully and faithfully, yours, etc., etc.,

JOHN A. ANDREW.

THE CASE OF MARGARET GARNER.

A VINDICATION OF GOV. CHASE.

To the Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.

THERE is a piece of history, which, being lately misreported, it is well to bring again to the public attention. The present seems peculiarly the fitting time to do so, as there is no pending candidacy of the gentleman whose reputation is concerned, to suggest a partisan object in the review.

Wendell Phillips, in a speech delivered a few months since, pronounced a severe criticism upon Gov. Chase for the course pursued by him in the case of Margaret Garner. He did not enter upon any complete statement of the case, either of its facts or the law and judicial proceedings relative thereto; something which would seem essential where one seeks to reverse the general judgment upon the life and character of a man who, for nearly thirty years, had been beloved by friends and assailed by enemies for faithful devotion to the slave. But, in some sharp-pointed periods, which assume facts not existing, Mr. Phillips makes a charge which, if substantiated, ought to deprive that magistrate of the good opinion of every humane man.

The general charge is, that Gov. Chase sacrificed Margaret Garner. One specification of fact only is given, and that is, that after assuring the Sheriff of official support, "he travelled one hundred and twenty miles, and left the Sheriff to take the responsibility—a responsibility the Governor dared not take, and she went back to bondage. No South Carolina Governor, with an Abolitionist in prison at Charleston, would have ever gone up to Columbia." This is untrue. Mr. Chase left Cincinnati during the last days of December, 1655, or the first week in January, nearly a month before Margaret escaped, to attend his inauguration, and, pressed with the more than usual cares of a new administration, did not visit Cincinnati for a long time. The only specification of fact failing, the charge itself is by that failure discredited, and a case of perfect defence might fairly be rested here. And there is reason to believe that Mr. Phillips has thought better since these hasty and rather intemperate words. In a later speech he is reported to have said, in substance, that with Chase for President, Butler Secretary of War, and Fremont at the head of the Army, the country would be safe. But surely he could not be the man to save the Republic who had sacrificed a heroine and left a city to shirk his duty.

This accusation is made against one whose name is identified with the anti-slavery movement from its earliest days. In 1837, he made his great plea for the slave Matilda in the city of Cincinnati, and from that time forward he was known as the "Attorney-General of the Blacks" in a community where such a reputation involved loss of political position, of social caste and professional income. He aided to organize the Liberty party, and threw himself, in 1841, into its forlorn minority. By newspaper articles, by the drafting of resolutions and addresses, by public speeches, by private conversation, by forensic arguments for fugitive slaves, in season and out of season, without cessation or compromise, he helped to lay the corner-stone of the cause now triumphant. He stood with Gamaliel Bailey, his advocate in the courts and his household friend, when his presses were destroyed by the mob, and they were like David and Jonathan until that good man was translated to his reward. Alone in the Cabinet, he has always been for the boldest and most aggressive measures on slavery. Nor would Mr. Phillips be unwilling to confess that he has not discriminated against anti-slavery men, but has alone in the Cabinet discriminated in their favor. All things considered, what statesman of this or any age can point to services for freedom so long, so constant and so valuable? But let not these services be his defence. Let us forget them all, and try him by the case in hand.

It is to be borne in mind that Mr. Chase, while opposing slavery with a strong moral fervor, shaped his political action against it in obedience to the Constitution, always interpreting that instrument as intended to secure the rights of the people. In this he and the other leaders of the anti-slavery movement were agreed. They believed that the hour of Revolution had not come, and that the cause could only make its way to triumph by obedience to law, so as to secure the coöperation of all the friends of social order. Well-intentioned men, in small numbers, may have had different views and preferred a rebellion against the government when it was in pro-slavery hands. Mr. Phillips once said: "I claim the right to resist any law I choose." The policy of violence and revolution was, however, not that of the Liberty, the Free Soil or the Republican party, and their leaders are not to be judged by it.

Another prefatory caution may not be amiss. It may almost seem trivial to repeat the truism, that a Governor or any civil magistrate is not responsible, even *prima facie*, for what goes wrong within the territory over which his authority, more or less limited, prevails. Gov. Andrew is not responsible for the murder of the Malden bank officer, or President Lincoln for the escape of John Morgan from the Ohio prison. Only when some specific duty imposed by law, and the neglect thereof, can be fastened upon him, is he responsible. The legal duty, the power to perform, and the neglect, are points essential to an accusation. Beyond that, his duty does not exceed that of the private citizen, and often falls below it, as when preoccupation with official cares of a general scope prevents a personal and persistent attention to individual grievances already in proper hands. All just men recognize these divisions and limitations of responsibility. Truth and justice forbid that they should be overlooked in dealing with so precious a thing as character. A popular orator of fervid nature, master also of the rhetoric of passion, may make an audience already in sympathy with him forget them when he pictures a tragedy, and then, by a transition not very distinct, denounces somebody who was present, or who held some public position at the time, as responsible for it. He may even himself, in the ardor of his harangue, forget them; but reason and fairness with him, as with his hearers, will recover their sway. Nor do the tragic surroundings of a case generally make the duty of the magistrate different. It is the same in the case of all the nameless slaves who have been restored to bondage as in Margaret Garner's. The duty of protection to rights is the same to the obscure as to the illustrious—to the whose wrong, from its similarity to those of others, is so common-place as to be forgotten, as to the whose fate, from a peculiar combination of circumstances appealing to the heart and imagination, is taken up by history.

It is proper here to recall the leading facts of the case. On the night of Sunday, Jan. 27th, 1856, Margaret Garner, and her husband and four children, with the father and mother of her husband, escaped from Boone County, Kentucky, and crossed the Ohio river a short distance below Cincinnati. The master followed in quick pursuit, and on the next day procured a warrant for the arrest of the fugitives, under the Fugitive Slave Act, from a United States Commissioner by the name of John L. Pendery. The same day they were arrested, the husband of Margaret firing on the arresting parties, and she herself doing the deed which gave distinction to the case. They were thereupon lodged in a Police Station of Cincinnati. It was the custom then, and is probably so still, for United States officers arresting parties under process held by them to confine them in the jails and prisons of the State, with the consent of the sheriffs and jailors. The confined party, under this practice of comity, remains still in the custody of the United States Marshal, though in the corporal power of the Sheriff, who enforces or aids in enforcing the confinement as a sort of deputy of the Marshal. The cases of restored fugitive slaves had been very frequent in Cincinnati. The writer remembers to have seen, in the Spring of 1854, a company of eight or nine who had escaped together, ranging in age from seventy years to a child of a few months, brought before that same Commissioner. They were remanded to Kentucky after a hurried hearing, with no disturbance or excitement, and with but little interest on the part of the community. And Margaret would have passed away with the nameless train who had for more than fifty years met an equal fate, but for the sublime desperation with which she resisted a second bondage for her children.

And here is the distinguishing feature of the case. While the Marshal and posse were arresting her, she seized a butcher-knife and killed one of her children—a girl of three years—and attempted to kill the next to prevent them from being restored to slavery. The homicide won sympathy in her behalf, and gave a possible opportunity of putting her into the custody of the State, and of relieving her therefrom at some fitting time, when she could succeed in an escape from her pursuers. On the day of her arrest, Judge Burgoyne of the Probate Court, at the instance of the friends of the fugitives, issued a writ of *habeas corpus*, returnable before him, under which the Sheriff took the fugitives into custody and conveyed them to the County jail. The Judge at once proceeded to Columbus, to confer with Gov. Chase. The Governor assured him that the process of the State Courts would be enforced in Hamilton County as well as in other parts of the State, and that the Sheriff, in the performance of his duty, would be sustained by the whole power at the command of the Executive. The friends of Margaret did not, for some reason, see fit to press the *habeas corpus*, and the Sheriff on the next day, and before the Judge had returned from Columbus, restored the prisoners to the custody of the United States Marshal, who continued to keep them in the jail. The *animus* of the Governor—his determination to do his duty and to uphold the honor of the State and the liberty of the unfortunate human beings in question—are evident from his hearty reply to the Judge. It will be remembered that, at that time, the public feeling in Cincinnati was strongly for the execution of the act, and strongly, too, in sympathy with the South. In the previous October, out of twenty-three thousand votes thrown in the County of which it forms the larger part in population, only forty-five hundred were given for Gov. Chase. Opposite Cincinnati, too, were the cities of Newport and Covington in Kentucky, to furnish, if necessary, an additional posse for the Marshal, with soldiers also at the Newport barracks. Besides, there was then no State militia which the Governor could call to his aid. The case having been delayed from day to day, the Grand Jury, to whom the prosecuting attorney, Mr. Cox, taking a humane interest in the fugitives, had presented their case, brought in an indictment for murder of the child against Margaret and her husband, and his parents. The Sheriff served the *capias* upon them, and again took them into custody, leaving the children in the custody of the Marshal. Being already in actual possession, this involved no removal. Already holding them as a kind of deputy of the Marshal, he now claimed to hold the legal custody under process issued directly to himself from the State Courts. The Marshal, on the other hand, still claimed to be entitled to the custody, and did, as it is stated, what he could to prevent a waiver of right by being on hand himself, or by deputy, to attend on the prisoners. He was at the same time threatened by the claimant with a suit for damages under the act if he did not maintain his custody. The custody of the Marshal under the Federal process was prior in time, and therefore superior in right, unless the State process, being a criminal one, was to be regarded as superior in kind, so as to supersede the Federal process of reclamation. The superior effect of the State criminal process has been claimed, but the United States Courts have not yielded to the force of the argument, maintaining that a comity necessary to prevent violent conflicts of jurisdiction requires that where a process, civil or criminal, from one court, either State or Federal, has attached, a process from the other must wait until the first has terminated. The point was raised in the Sims case before the State Courts, but it was not necessary to decide it. It is stated that the Supreme Court of Massachusetts took a view like that of the Federal courts, in an unpublished opinion, when consulted by Gov. Gardner. It seemed, however, at that time, that Judge Leavitt of the United States District Court for the Southern District of Ohio, intimated to one of the counsel for Margaret, in a conversation while her case was pending, an opinion in favor of the superiority of the State criminal process. Her counsel, who were also acting as legal advisers of the Sheriff, were Edward Mills, since deceased, and George Hoadley, who has held an eminent judicial position in Ohio; both men of acknowledged ability and zealous friends of the slave. When making the intimation referred to, the Judge suggested a hearing before himself on a *habeas corpus*, as a means by which the Marshal could protect himself against a suit for damages in case of a decision in favor of the Sheriff's right to the custody. The counsel, relying on this extra judicial intimation, consented to this course, and the Marshal having sued out a writ of *habeas corpus* before Judge Leavitt for the body of Margaret, directed to the Sheriff, the latter officer, upon the advice of the counsel referred to, produced her in Court with a copy of the indictment and *capias*, and submitted to the jurisdiction, making his return that he held the four persons indicted under the process of the State, to await their trial on the charge of murder. The counsel and friends thus handed over the case to the Federal Judge, misled by his intimation, as the event proved. This was on Feb. 26. The Judge listened to an argument, particularly on the point referred to, and took the case under advisement. As he left the Court, the Commissioner took his vacated seat and decided the fugitives to be slaves of the claimants. Judge Burgoyne had had before himself a hearing that same day on another *habeas corpus*, which he had issued for the children, and had adjourned the hearing to the 30th. On the morning of the 28th, however, to the surprise of counsel and friends, Judge Leavitt gave a decision, declaring the custody of the Sheriff unlawful, and remanding the parties claimed to the possession of the Marshal. The Sheriff and the counsel of Margaret made no further resistance. The fugitives were at once placed in an omnibus and taken to the ferry-boat, guarded by some five hundred special deputies. They were in Kentucky an hour after the decision, and while it was as yet unknown to the public and even to one of the counsel.

Such are the facts. What now were the duty and responsibility of Gov. Chase upon them? It was not his duty, by force and violence and without rightful process, to rescue the unhappy fugitives. Had he attempted this, under the plea of official authority, he would have been simply a usurper. He would thereby have embarked in a revolutionary proceeding, which would not have saved them, and would have been prejudicial to the cause of constitutional resistance to the Act. Society now throws herself back, like the individual in cases of necessity, somewhat upon natural and revolutionary rights, but the time for that had not then arrived. Having no official power under the law to protect them, his duty became like that of any private citizen—no more, no less. The *argumentum ad hominem* may be good fencing in debate, but it rarely elucidates truth, and we will not resort to it. But to give point to the illustration, we submit that Gov. Chase, having no power under the law to save them, Mr. Phillips's duty to rescue Thomas Sims and Anthony Burns, who went back to bondage under his own eye, was equally great. Had he led a charge on the Marshal's posse at some opportune moment, as he is brave enough to do, thousands, inspired by his example, might have followed, and the dark deed of restoration would have been prevented. There is no rule of morals, no principle of law, which justifies him for not doing so, not equally available for the entire vindication of Gov. Chase.

It seems to be implied in the accusation that Gov. Chase is responsible for the action, or rather inaction, of the Sheriff. No assumption could be more unfair. He had no legal power over that officer, no more than he had over a Judge of a Court or a member of the Legislature. The Sheriff was an officer elected by the people. The Governor could not remove him or dictate his action in any way—the Sheriff being as independent of him as he was of the Sheriff. The Sheriff could have laughed in his face, and would probably have done so, had he attempted to give him the slightest direction. That ministerial officer held the process, and the Governor could not lay his hand upon him, either to take it away or to compel its execution; and only in aiding the Sheriff to execute the same, if he saw fit to execute it, had the Governor the slightest power in the premises. The Governor of a State—least of all, the Governor of Ohio, whose functions are fewer and more confined than elsewhere—has no imperial power to protect rights and redress grievances; and the mere fact of a wrong done in the State makes not even a *prima facie* case of responsibility on his part. He certainly had no such war powers as upon military necessity are now accorded to the President of the United States. He had rarely any initial power to redress private wrongs, that function being appropriate to the judicial tribunals and the ministerial officers who go forth to execute their mandates. Whoever would be a safe critic on the conduct of rulers must not for a moment overlook such cardinal distinctions.

What, then, could Gov. Chase rightfully do to save Margaret Garner? He could, though unprovided with a militia force and compelled to rely on a posse drawn from a community favorable to the execution of the Fugitive Slave Act, do what he could to enforce such process as the Sheriff was willing to execute, and protect him in the custody of Margaret, if he was willing to keep it; in other words, sustain the process of the State with the power of the State. He could do more than this. He could show a watchful sympathy in the fate of the fugitive, give ready access for consultation to her legal advisers and friends, and aid with the moral power of his name and influence all legitimate measures for her protection. He did all this, and more. He pledged to the counsel his best ability to sustain the Sheriff in executing the process and retaining the custody, as the surviving one of the two advocates and the prosecuting attorney, who coöperated with them, now testify. He gave them a ready audience, did all that they asked of him, refusing nothing—trusting also that the case was in good and faithful hands. The counsel managed the case with ability and earnest sympathy, but if they erred in placing too much confidence in the Federal Judge or otherwise, Gov. Chase is not responsible for such errors. Mr. Joseph Cox, the prosecuting attorney referred to, in a letter published in November last, says: "In every step I found Gov. Chase prompt and efficient, sympathizing deeply in the case and ready to render any assistance in his power."

He did more, as we have said. In his zeal for the fugitive he pushed the construction of the provision of the Constitution relative to the reclamation of fugitives from justice to an extent which it would not be entirely safe to adopt. Although she had not *escaped* from Ohio, having been taken therefrom against her will, he made a requisition for her, as an *escaped* offender, on the Governor of Kentucky, stating the facts. That functionary, desiring to extend the purview of the clause, issued an order for her surrender, which would have resulted in her return to Ohio, had not the claimant already transported her down the river.

This mournful case suggests a brief reference to the case of Thomas Sims. He was arrested as a fugitive slave in Boston, on April 3d, 1851, and while being arrested, assaulted the Deputy Marshal, A. O. Butman. A complaint for the assault was made by the friends of Sims, and a warrant issued for his arrest, which was placed in the hands of the Sheriff. The Sheriff consulted the Governor, who referred him to the District Attorney. A Deputy Sheriff served it on the Marshal (now Brig.-Gen. Devens), who refused to deliver and threatened the use of force to defend his custody. It should be stated, however, that the Federal officers, anticipating such a process, had already had a complaint made to the Federal Courts, and had obtained a criminal warrant for that purpose; but it was a sham process, the Marshal not returning it to Court. A writ of personal replevin for the prisoner was obtained, under a statute of the State passed fourteen years before. A writ of *habeas corpus* was procured by his friends, bringing him before Judge Woodbury, of the United States Circuit Court, where Charles Sumner and Samuel E. Sewall appeared in his behalf. A petition for a writ of *habeas corpus* was argued before the Supreme Judicial Court of the State (Chief-Justice Shaw presiding and delivering the opinion), by Robert Rantoul, Jr., and Richard H. Dana, Jr. The case was argued before the Commissioner, George T. Curtis, by Robert Rantoul, Jr., and Charles G. Loring, who applied fullness of learning to the law and critical acumen to the facts. George S. Boutwell was Governor. He was surrounded by an anti-slavery Council, one of whom was Francis W. Bird. Henry Wilson was President of the Senate, Nathaniel P. Banks Speaker of the House, and Amasa Walker Secretary of State. A Legislature was in session which, a few days later, on April 24th, elected Charles Sumner to the United States Senate. Vigilance Committees held daily and nightly sessions. Outside the Courts, Horace Mann, Theodore Parker, Wendell Phillips, and others of less fame, but of like spirit, thundered against the crime. And yet, with all this variety of judicial proceedings, this array of lawyers and publicists, a State government unfriendly to the act, no member of which has been assailed for remissness, and with all this demonstration of popular feeling, Sims was carried off from the State under a decision of the Commissioner, on the morning of April 12th, just nine days from the time of his arrest. This was not in Cincinnati, within rifle-shot of a slave State, where counsel succeeded in delaying the issue for a month; but it was in Boston, all finished in nine days, among a community four hundred miles from slave soil; and the victim, as he walked down the street to take the vessel which was to bear him to Georgia, passed within a stone's-throw of Faneuil Hall. Why not hold Gov. Boutwell, Henry Wilson, Wendell Phillips even, responsible for all this, and for the Anthony Burns case, too, of similar features, which went on in presence of the throngs of Anniversary week in 1854, and among a people stung to indignation by the repeal of the Missouri Compromise? No, this would not be just. These were done because the government of the United States was then in the hands of slave-masters, who were reinforced by an unenlightened conservatism of the free States. And they would come again if these masters were to return to power.

Such, then, are the facts. Gov. Chase did not usurp power, or enter on a violent or illegal course. He did not command or remove the Sheriff, having no power to do so. He gave assurances of his readiness and determination to sustain the process of the State with the power of the State, and he was faithful to them. He did all that the counsel and friends of Margaret asked of him, and they now, as always, testify to his personal sympathies and official cooperation. They do not accuse him, but the accusation comes from one who was nearly a thousand miles away at the time, neither a participant in the scene or a spectator of it, now making up not a contemporaneous but a remote record. To do a great right and, if possible, save the woman, he even strained the law. He did not, indeed, save her, because the law had given him no power to save her. If he is responsible, then is every magistrate, civil or military, responsible for everything that goes wrong, no matter though he has no official right or physical power to prevent it. Fair dealing between man and man, putting aside all charity and all respect for eminent services to humanity, forbids such a judgment.

A WORD WITH SENATOR FOSTER.

From The Hartford Press.

BEFORE proceeding, as we recently spoke of doing, to a more particular notice of the speech of Senator Foster, in which he defends the Fugitive Slave law of '93, in this fourth year of the slaveholders' rebellion, we will take up a little matter which lies upon the threshold of the speech. While it does not bear the most intimate relation to the subsequent argument of the Senator, yet it cannot in justice be passed by. . .

In the course of his speech, Mr. Foster took occasion to boast a little of his anti-slavery character, to say that it dated back thirty years—a thing certainly to be proud of, and a fact that would excuse something more than the modest reference the Senator made to it. We quote the following from the speech, sent to us by Mr. Foster:

MR. SUMNER—I say that this language is to be interpreted with reference to the laws of God and those commanding rules of interpretation which even the Senator, while vindicating slavery, cannot disobey.

MR. FOSTER—Mr. President, the gentleman uses words very loosely when he talks about my "vindicating slavery." If he will compare records, he will find that *my anti-slavery record is much older than his*, going back to the days of slavery" only within the past few years, as he has done the other day. My record goes further back, Mr. President. *I am a good anti-slavery man for more than thirty years*, much more than thirty. The honorable Senator began to be impressed with its barbarism after 1844, within less than twenty years, and he should not, therefore, charge those who are older in the service than himself, but not abler, I admit, with vindicating slavery.

Thirty years is a long period in the life of a man, especially in these revolutionary days, and a politician, of all men, who attempts to write his own eulogy in anticipation of the judgment of posterity, needs a long and accurate memory.

But the Senator gave proof of his anti-slavery feelings by a hearty denunciation of the Fugitive Slave law of 1850, as an enactment that he had always since its passage held in abhorrence. He regarded it not only as an iniquitous, but which is infinitely worse, an unconstitutional law. We quote again from the speech, its opening paragraph:

Mr. President: For the bill now before the Senate I shall give my vote when the question is taken on its passage with very great pleasure. Its effect will be to repeal the law of 1850, popularly known as the Fugitive Slave law, *in my opinion a most iniquitous measure, and certainly most obnoxious to the people of the free States from the day of its passage to the present hour.* The bill was passed in a period of great excitement in the country. A malicious and malignant spirit had been excited; sectional and partisan feeling raged over the land. An arrogant and defiant party, in their pride of power, passed that bill through both Houses of Congress. It *has the forms of law*, and has stood unrepealed to this day. From the first day I had the honor of a seat in this body until now, I should have voted cheerfully for its repeal at any time. I have heard that law denounced by the honorable Senator from New Hampshire (Mr. Hale), in the indignant, eloquent terms which he knows so well how to employ. I have also heard it denounced by the honorable Senator from Massachusetts (Mr. Sumner) in like terms; and although I may not by any effort of mine call to my aid words so fit and proper, so emphatic and so significant, as are readily commanded by those gentlemen in characterizing that law, neither of them can vote for

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, MAY 28, 1864.

THE SITUATION.

The sanguine temperament has its drawbacks as well as its advantages. Of all the gifts of God it is the one that most contributes to daily happiness. It makes its possessor see sunshine behind the darkest cloud and discern the day in the gloom of the murkiest midnight. But, on the other hand, it is apt to take discouragement easily and to forebode evil and disaster from facts which may not be prophetic of ill, of necessity. A fortnight ago the whole loyal North were sanguine of a speedy and crowning victory Grant was driving Lee before him, Butler had cut off the rebel communications with the far South, Sigel was making assurance doubly sure, and the capture of Richmond and the downfall of the Confederacy was a fact all but accomplished. Our readers will bear us witness that we did not share in those buoyant anticipations, though we, too, are happily endowed with a sanguine complexion. We rejoiced in the excellence of the beginning, but we regarded it as only the beginning of the end and not the end of the end, by any means. The experience of the past ten days has shown that this was even so. Grant has not yet put Lee to an ignominious flight, Butler has not yet taken Richmond or even Fort Darling, and Sigel is repulsed and superseded. The rebel communications with the South are not cut off, and reinforcements have undoubtedly reached Lee from that region. Terrible fighting has yet to be had—perhaps, is even at this moment going on. The work is not done, but it is well begun, and there is no reason for despondency in view of the situation. As a consequence of the excitability of the American people, we are apt to succeed a depression correspondingly low in proportion to the height of our previous exaltation. And something of this reaction has marked the popular feeling for the past week; but, as we think, without sufficient reason.

The expectation that Grant could crush such an army as Lee's at a single blow, or by a succession of blows in a brief space of time, was a moral and military absurdity. We have permitted the rebel government to consolidate its forces, to raise them to the highest point consistent with existence, and to drill and discipline them to an admirable degree of perfection. The misfortune which threw the Army of the Potomac into the palsying hands of McClellan, and which continued him in its command after his incompetency, if not his treachery, was patent to all mankind, has given the rebel government more than two years of preparation, years which they have used with great ability and most despotic abuse of power. They have used three years to make their Capital as nearly impregnable as engineering science can make a city, to collect the whole fighting population under arms, to excite and exasperate their passions against their "invaders," to provide them with the best of arms and abundance of ammunition, and to place them under the command of experienced, able and desperate officers. They are fighting on their own soil, in a country of which they know every inch, and with the consciousness that the fatal turn of the scales, in their favor or against them, must be had upon the field they now occupy. Desperate fighting is the necessary consequence, and dubious results, for a season, as inevitable. We have made these men the soldiers that they are. We have taught them language, as Prospero did to Caliban, and the use they make of it is to curse us. We have given them time and opportunity, and, by our cotton operations on the Mississippi, we have fed and armed them, and it is nothing strange that they are almost a match for us. We will hope and believe not quite. That Grant should not have pushed on much beyond Spotsylvania, that Butler should not have carried Fort Darling, that Sigel should have been driven back through the Valley of the Shenandoah, should not surprise us, much less amaze and dismay us. It is the natural and necessary course of things.

While we cannot deny the courage and conduct which mark the fighting and the handling of the rebels, we must remember that the fighting and the putting in order to fight are carried on under new conditions. Our own army was never so numerous, so well appointed, and so well led as now. The McClellan lethargy is at last shaken off. A General in earnest, and whom his troops believe to be so, has it in his hand. To its astonishment it finds itself pushing forward instead of falling back in good order, what was so long its chronic condition. The General-in-chief, too, is obeyed instead of thwarted by his corps commanders. Though our losses have been fearful, both in amount and in value, the pressure is still onward. The army has been reënforced up to near or quite its original force, and this can still be carried on. The enemy, on the other hand, has but a limited supply of men and every loss of his is doubly damaging to him. His resistance will inevitably be more and more desperate—for there can be no doubt now that he is fearfully in earnest—but it will be overcome in due time by the pressure of heavier battalions and weightier metal. It will not be done at once, nor soon, but at last, if the people keep up to the point of resolution where they seem now to stand. Then Butler's position is still good and tenable and greatly damaging to the enemy, while Sherman is making good use of the diversion of the rebels towards Richmond to push onward towards Atlanta. The plan of Grant is, probably, working itself out quite as well as he ever expected that it would, and we see no reason to doubt that he still believes it will be successful. We suppose no fiercer fighting was ever had in the same space of time than that of the week of battles. No one battle was unequivocally decided in favor of either party; but the preponderance of advantages has been greatly on our side. And so we believe it must continue to be. The fate of the rebellion will be decided in this campaign. It may linger for awhile and drag out a spasmodic existence; but its life of life will be gone, if Grant's campaign be carried out as it was planned. It will not be done early, or without a dear expense of precious lives, but it will be done.

The situation, therefore, with all its uncertainties, looks prosperously to us. To Abolitionists, who look upon this war as the inevitable consequence of slavery and the just punishment of the nation for its guilt in that regard, the whole course of events seems to have been especially directed by an anti-slavery Providence. The very slowness of success is an essential element, even yet, in a true victory. It is to those delays that the slave will owe his speedier freedom, and the nation its release from its entanglement with his chains. A greater haste would have had a worse speeding. The rebellion might have been put down in the Sixty or Ninety days of which Mr. Seward spoke, and slavery might have been saved. McClellan might have been in Richmond in December, 1861, had he choosen, and the rebellion would have been ended by terms of the rebels' dictation. But he thought that this ending could be had without any fighting at all, and that an overwhelming force on the frontiers would frighten the life out of the Rebellion. On the contrary, it inspired it with contempt, while the delay gave it time to collect and organize its forces. And this disappointed the Administration of its avowed purpose of settling the quarrel without molesting slavery. Every day that the war lasts, every foot of land that the slaveholders dispute, makes the speedy ending of slavery more certain. So inveterate is the pro-slavery habit of the Northern mind, so strong is the party that is fanatically devoted to its preservation, that we could not be sure that a crushing victory, followed by a reconstruction, would not rehabilitate slavery in some shape and for some time to come. But the slowly rolling wheels of victory will grind it to powder as they go forward. Probably in no other way could that deliverance be had. Thousands of precious lives will be crushed beneath those advancing chariot-wheels, together with the deadliest enemy of God and man. The guilt of the nation is great and bitterly will it be expiated. Its punishment may be almost greater than it can bear. But the penance will be performed, the burden of sin will be removed. The hand of God will be seen leading us through the Red Sea of Battle and the Wilderness of shortcomings and blunders, into the land promised to the Fathers—a land whose prosperity shall be built upon the foundations of freedom, justice and righteousness, and established therein forever.

ANNIVERSARY OF THE WOMEN'S NATIONAL LEAGUE.

The Anniversary of the Women's League was held at the Church of the Puritans, Thursday morning, May 12th.

The President, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, called the meeting to order, and requested the audience to observe a few moments of silence, that each soul might seek for itself Divine guidance through the deliberations of the meeting.

The Corresponding Secretary, Charlotte B. Wilbour, read the Call of the meeting as heretofore published in this paper.

The Recording Secretary read the Report of the Executive Committee:

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Of the Women's National League—May 12th, 1864.

One year ago we formed ourselves into a League, with the declared object of educating thirty millions of people into the true idea of a Christian Republic.

Whilst, as women, we might not presume to teach men the mysterious arts of statesmanship and diplomacy, we felt it our duty to call the nation back to the a, b, c of human rights.

In reading over the history of the Republic we clearly saw in slavery the cause not only of all our political and financial convulsions, but of the terrible rebellion desolating our country and our homes.

To do this was a work of time and money; and we were compelled to assume a debt of five thousand dollars in starting—the item of postage alone amounting to *one thousand*—all of which we are happy to say has been duly paid.

Our thanks are due to Robert Dale Owen, Gerrit Smith, Bradhurst Schieffelin, Wendell Phillips, Jessie Benton Fremont, Frederick Douglass, Henry Ward Beecher, and the Hovey Trust Fund Committee of Boston, for their timely contributions and liberal words of cheer. But still more are we indebted to the numberless, nameless thousands of the honest, earnest children of toil, throughout the country, for their responses to our call, their words of hearty God-speed, and their "mite" offerings, ranging from five cents to five dollars.

From these petitions, thus widely scattered, we have already sent to Congress the names of over two hundred thousand men and women, demanding an amendment of the Constitution and an act of emancipation. And still thousands are returning to us daily, and we hope to roll up another hundred thousand before the close of the present session.

Leaving, then, all minor questions of banks and mints and public improvements for Congressmen to discuss at the rate of $3,000 a year, we decided the first work to be done was to end slavery, and ring the death-knell of caste and class throughout the land. To this end, as a means of educating the people, we sent out twenty thousand emancipation petitions, with tracts and appeals, into different districts of the free States, and into the slave States wherever our armies had opened the way.

The Women's National League now numbers five thousand members. And in the West, where we have employed two lecturing agents—Josephine S. Griffing, and H. Tracy Cutler—a large number of auxiliary Leagues have been formed.

We have registered on our books the names of two thousand men and women, boys and girls, who have circulated these petitions.

We have on file all the letters received from the thousands with whom we have been in correspondence, feeling that this canvass of the nation for freedom will be an important and most interesting chapter in our future history. These letters, coming from all classes and all latitudes, breathe one prayer for the downfall of slavery.

Massachusetts' noble Senator, Charles Sumner, who has so reverently received, presented, and urged petitions, has cheered us with kind messages, magnifying the importance of our labors. His eloquent speech, made in the Senate on presenting our first instalment —*the prayer of one hundred thousand*—we have printed in tract form and scattered by thousands throughout the country. We have wearied the nation with letters and appeals, public and private, and put forth every energy to rouse the people to earnest, persistent action against slavery, the deadly foe of all our cherished institutions.

We proposed to ourselves in the first moments of enthusiasm to secure, at least, *a million* signatures—one thirtieth part of our entire population. We thought the troubled warnings of a century—the insidious aggressions of slavery, with its violations of the sacred rights of *habeas corpus*, free speech, and free press, with its riots in our cities, and in the councils of the nation striking down, alike, black men and brave Senators, all culminating, at last, in the horrid tragedies of war—must have roused the dullest moral sense, and prepared the nation's heart to do justice and love mercy. But we were mistaken. Sunk in luxury, corruption, and crime—born and bred into the "guilty phantasy that man could hold property in man," we needed the clash of arms, the cannon's roar, the shrieks and groans of fallen heroes, the lamentations of mothers for their first-born, the angel's trump, the voices of the mighty dead, to wake this stolid nation from its sleep of death.

In circulating our petition many refused to sign because they believed slavery a divine institution, and therefore did not wish to change the status of the slave. Others, who professed to hate slavery, denied the right of Congress to interfere with it in the States; and yet others condemned all dictation, or even suggestion to Congress or the President. They said, "*let the people be still* and trust the affairs of State to the management of the rulers they, themselves, have chosen." And many of our "old Abolitionists," believing *their* work done, that the war had killed slavery, knocked the bottom out of the tub, not only declared our work one of supererogation, but told us that petitioning, as a means of educating the people or influencing Congress, had become obsolete.

Under all these discouragements, with neither Press nor Pulpit to magnify our work, without money or the enthusiasm of numbers, in simple faith, into the highways and hedges we sent the Gospel of Freedom, and, as of old, the people heard with gladness. A very large majority of our petitioners are from the unlettered masses. They who, knowing naught of the machinery of government or the trickery of politics, believe that, as God reigns, there is justice on the earth.

As yet, none of our large cities have been thoroughly canvassed; but from the savannahs of the South and the prairies of the West—from the hills of New England and the shores of our lakes and gulfs, have we enrolled the soldiers of freedom; they who, when the rebels shall lay down their arms, with higher, holier weapons must end the war. Through us, two hundred thousand people—the labor and virtue of the Republic—have spoken in our national Capitol, whose voices were never heard there before.

Those unaccustomed to balance influences, who judge of the importance of movements by their apparent results, may deem our efforts lost, because the Amendment and Emancipation bills have not yet passed the House; but we feel that our labors for the past year, in the circulation of tracts and petitions and appeals—in our lectures and letters, public and private, we have done as much to kill the rebellion, by educating the people for the final blow, as any other organization, civil, political, military or religious, in the land.

Could you but read the many earnest, thrilling letters we have received from simple men and women, in their rural homes, you would have fresh hope for the stability of our Republic; remembering that the life of a nation depends on the virtue of its people, and not on the dignity of its rulers.

One poor, infirm woman in Wisconsin, who had lost her husband and all her sons in the war, travelled on foot over *one hundred miles* in gathering *two thousand names*. Her letter was filled with joy that she, too, had been able to do something for the cause of liberty. Follow her, in imagination, through sleet and snow, from house to house; listen to her words—mark the pathos of her voice, as she debates the question of freedom, or tells some tale of horror in the land of slavery, or asks her neighbors, one by one, to give their names to end such wrongs. Aside from all she says, the *fact* that she comes in storm, on foot, is to all an argument, that there is something wrong in the republic, demanding haste and action from every citizen.

You who, in crowded towns, move masses by your eloquence, scorn not the slower modes. Remember the seeds of enthusiasm you call forth have been planted by humbler hands—by the fireside, the old arm chair, in the workshop, at the plow—wherever man communes alone with God.

Our work for the past year—and what must still be our work—involves the vital question of the nation's life. For, until the old Union with slavery be broken, and our Constitution so amended as to secure the elective franchise to all its citizens who are taxed, or who bear arms to support the government, we have no foundations on which to build a true republic.

We urge our country women, who have shown so much enthusiasm in the war—in Sanitary and Freedmen's Associations—now to give themselves to the broader, deeper, higher work of reconstruction. The New Nation demands the noblest type of womanhood. It is a holy mission to minister to suffering soldiers in camp and hospital, and on the battle-field; to hold the heads and staunch the wounds of dying heroes; but holier still, by the magic word of freedom, to speak a dying nation into life.

Four years ago the *many* thought all was well in the land of the free and the home of the brave; but we knew the war was raging then through all the Southern States. We knew the secrets of that bastile of horrors; we heard, afar off, the shrieks and groans of the dying, the lamentations of husbands and wives, parents and children, sundered forever from each other. *Then* we fed, and clothed, and sheltered the fugitives in their weary marches where the North Star led, and crowned with immortal wreaths the panting heroes, pursued by the bloodhounds from the everglades of Florida, who asked but to die in freedom, under the shadow of a monarch's throne.

Yes, the rebellion has been raging near a century on every cotton field and rice plantation. Every vice, hardship and abomination, suffered by our soldiers in the war, has been the daily life in slavery. Yet no Northern volunteers marched to the black man's help, though he stood alone against such fearful odds, until John Brown and his twenty-three men threw themselves into the deadly breach.

What a sublime spectacle! Behold! the black man, forgetting all our crimes, all his wrongs for generations, now nobly takes up arms in our defence. Look not to Greece or Rome for heroes—to Jerusalem or Mecca for saints—but for the highest virtues of heroism, let us worship the black man at our feet.

Mothers, redeem the past by teaching your children the limits of human rights, with the same exactness that you now teach the multiplication table. That "all men are created equal" is a far more important fact for a child to understand, than that twice two makes four.

Had we during the past century as fondly guarded the tree of liberty, with its blessed fruits of equality, as have Southern mothers the deadly upas of slavery, the blood of our sires and sons, mingled with the sweat and tears of slaves, would not now enrich the tyrant's soil, our hearth-stones would not all be desolate, nor we, with shame, behold our northern statesmen in the nation's councils floundering in doubt and perplexity on the simplest questions of human rights. A mariner without chart or compass, ignorant of the starry world above his head, drifting on a troubled sea, is not more hopeless than a nation, in the throes of Revolution, without faith in the immutability and safety of truth and justice.

Behold in the long past the endless wreck of nations—Despotisms, Monarchies, Republics—alike, they all sprung up and bloomed—then drooped and died, because not planted with the seeds of life; and on their crumbling ruins the black man now plants his feet, and as he proudly breaks his chains, declares, "man above all human government."

Wendell Phillips was introduced and made an eloquent appeal in behalf of the object of the League. He congratulated the Society on the progress it had made, contrasted the past with the present, referred to his experience at former meetings, and argued that woman should have a voice and a vote in the affairs of the nation. He showed the importance of woman's moral power infused into the politics of the country, and of the independence of those outside of party lines, who neither vote or hold office, to criticise the shortcomings of our rulers. He eulogized the manner in which Anna Dickinson had arraigned both men and measures before the judgment seat of the people; deplored the slavery of party, that puts padlocks on the lips of leading politicians. While the sons of the Puritans, with bated breath, see in the violation of the most sacred rights of citizens the swift-coming destruction of the Republic, and in silence wait the shock, an inspired girl comes forward, sounds the alarm, raises the signal of distress, and fearlessly calls the captain, pilot, crew, and all to duty, for the Ship of State is drifting on a rock-bound coast. Again and again is this young girl put forward to tell the people what men in high places dare not say themselves.

The following resolutions were then read and submitted for discussion:

1. Whereas, the testimony of all history, the teachings of all sound philosophy, and our national experience for almost a hundred years, have demonstrated that in the Divine economy there is an "irrepressible conflict" between slavery and freedom; and

Whereas, the present war is but the legitimate fruit of this unnatural union; therefore

Resolved, That any attempt to reconstruct the government with any root or branch of the slave system remaining, will surely prove disastrous, and therefore should be met at the outset with the stern rebuke of every true patriot and friend of humanity.

2. Resolved, That this government *still* upholds slavery by military as well as civil power, and is, therefore, itself, *still* in daring rebellion against the God of Justice, before whom Jefferson "trembled" and whose "exterminating thunders" he warned us would be our destruction, unless, by "the diffusion of light and liberality," we were led to exterminate it forever from the land.

3. Resolved, That until the old union with slavery be broken, and the Constitution so amended as to secure the elective franchise to all citizens who bear arms, or are taxed to support the government, we have no foundations on which to build a true republic.

4. Whereas, the *Anti-* or *Pro-*slavery character of the Constitution has long been a question of dispute among Statesmen and Judges, as well as Reformers, therefore

Resolved, That we demand for the new nation a new constitution, in which the guarantees of liberty and equality to every human being shall be so plainly and clearly written as never again to be called in question.

5. Resolved, That we demand for black men not only the right to be sailors, soldiers and laborers under equal pay and protection with white men, but the right of suffrage, that only safeguard of civil liberty, without which emancipation is but mockery.

6. Resolved, That women now acting as nurses in our hospitals, who are regular graduates of medicine, should be recognized as physicians and surgeons, and receive the same renumeration for their services as men.

7. Resolved, That the failure of the Administration to protect our Black Troops against such outrages as were long ago officially threatened, and fearfully perpetrated at Port Hudson, Milliken's Bend, Olustee and Fort Pillow, is but added proof of its *heartless character*, or *utter incapacity* to conduct the war.

8. Resolved, That when the men of a nation, in a political party, consecrate themselves to "Freedom and Peace" and declare their high resolve to found a Republic on the principles of justice, they have lifted politics into the sphere of morals and religion, where it is the duty of women to be co-workers with them in giving immortal life to the new nation.

9. Resolved, That our special thanks are due to Robert Dale Owen, who aided us in the inauguration of our work; and to Charles Sumner, who so earnestly and eloquently presented our petitions in the Senate of the United States.

10. Whereas, from official statistics, it appears that our annual national expenditures for imported broadcloths, silks, laces, embroideries, wines, spirits and cigars, are more than one hundred million dollars; therefore

Resolved, That we recommend the formation of leagues of patriotic men and women throughout the country, whose object shall be to discountenance and prevent the indulgence of all these, and similar useless luxuries during the war; thereby encouraging habits of economy, stimulating American industry, diminishing the foreign debt, and increasing our ability to meet the vast expenditures of the present crisis.

LETTER FROM EMIL PRETORIUS.

St. Louis, Mo., April 29, 1864.

Madam: Your favor of 23d inst. has come to hand with your call, which was published and endorsed by our paper, as you will see by the enclosed slip.

Your sentiments are so high and noble that to doubt a favorable result and response from the West would be like doubting whether our women had courage enough to follow the truest instincts, the best impulses of their own pure nature. I, for one, have no such idea, no such fears; and if I should ever believe that the Cornelias and Thusenildas were only to be found by going back thousands of years in history, and would not and could not be rivalled by patriotic mothers and heroic wives in this present crisis of ours, I then would renounce at once all hopes of a national resurrection. Liberty, it is true, is immortal; but we would be bound to look for her in some other part of our globe, if we fail on American soil to enlist in our struggle the full heart of our women.

But there is no such thing as failure in battling for all that is high and good and sacred, and there is no such thing as failure in appealing for so good a cause to woman's noble mind and true heart. They will be with us, every one of them will, and whether a majority of our people be up to our standard this time or not, still, in the eyes of our women we would be what our German poet calls, "the conquering defeated."

Yours for Fremont and Freedom,

Emil Pretorius.

LETTER FROM CHARLES SUMNER.

Senate Chamber, 6th May, 1864.

Madam: I cannot be with you in New York, according to the invitation with which you have honored me; for my post of duty is here.

I am grateful to your Association for what you have done to arouse the country to insist on the extinction of slavery, Now is the time to strike, and no effort should be spared. And yet there are many who lap themselves in the luxury of present success, and hold back. This is a mistake. The good work must be finished; and to my mind nothing seems to be done while anything remains to be done.

There is one point to which attention must be directed. No effort should be spared to castigate and blast the whole idea of *property in man*, which is the cornerstone of the rebel pretension, and the constant assumption of the partisans of slavery, or of its luke-warm opponents. Let this idea be trampled out, and there will be no sympathy with the rebellion; and there will be no such abomination as *slave-hunting*, which is beyond question the most execrable feature of slavery itself. Accept my thanks, and believe me,

Madam, faithfully yours, Charles Sumner.

Mrs. Susan B. Anthony.

Speeches were then made by George Thompson, Lucretia Mott and Ernestine L. Rose; after which the meeting adjourned to Saturday afternoon the 14th.

BUSINESS MEETING.

The adjourned meeting convened in the Lecture Room of the Church of the Puritans, Saturday p. m., May 14th. The President in the chair.

The Secretary read the report of the Executive Committee, which was unanimously adopted. The resolutions were then read, and motion taken to act upon them separately. The 2d, 7th and 8th elicited a long and earnest discussion, but were at last adopted, with but one or two dissenting votes.

The Committee then presented a list of women to serve as officers the coming year, who were unanimously elected.

Officers of the Women's National League.

President—Elizabeth Cady Stanton.

Vice Presidents—L. M. Brownson, Mary Bates, Mrs. Col. A. Eaton, S. A. Fahrwerather.

Corresponding Secretary—Charlotte B. Wilbour.

Recording Secretaries—Susan B. Anthony, Elvira Lane.

Treasurer—Mary F. Gilbert.

Executive Committee—Mrs. L. M. Brownson, Mrs. H. M. Jacobs, Mary O. Gale, Mattie Griffith, Redelia Bates, Rebecca K. Shepherd, Francis V. Halleck, Mrs. E. A. Lozier, M.D., Laura M. Ward, M.D., Malvina A. Lane.

THE WOMEN'S NATIONAL LEAGUE TO ITS MEMBERS AND FRIENDS.

The task of folding, directing, and sending out 20,000 petitions, then assorting, counting off, and rolling up, each State by itself, 300,000 signatures, has been an herculean task, that only those who have witnessed its workings could fully appreciate. Remember that paper, printing, postage, office, and clerks all require money.

At the last meeting of the Executive Committee we resolved to ask each of our 5,000 members to send us the small sum of fifty cents to carry on the work.

Let the petitions be thoroughly circulated during the Summer, throughout the country, that the people may speak in thunder-tones to our next Congress at its earliest sittings.

Neither the Emancipation or Amendment bill has yet passed the House, and the recent vote on the Montana question shows the animus of the Administration. If the majority of our voters propose to reëlect such men to rule over us, those who believe in free institutions must begin the work of educating the nation into the idea that a stable government must be founded on justice—that freedom and equality are rights that belong to every citizen of a republic.

Susan B. Anthony, Sec.,
20 Cooper Institute.

Radicalism of a Conservative.—The Rev. Edward N. Kirk, D.D., of Boston, who was an Abolitionist in 1834-5, but who afterwards became an apologist of slavery and of the Fugitive Slave law, was one of the speakers at the late Congregational Reunion in Plymouth Church, Brooklyn. Among the speakers on the occasion was also George Thompson, whose address will be found on the fourth page. Dr. Kirk followed Mr. Thompson, and in the course of his speech said:

"There is a great moral battle going on. And let every man, woman, and child, in the presence of their God, and in the light of a coming eternity, take their stand, and say where they mean to be found. You cannot remain neutral. The principles at war are too profound, too vast, too vital, to admit of that. Every person in this country must say whether he is an aristocrat or a democrat—a democrat, I mean, in the Bible sense of the term. We are coming to have a new democratic party—a democratic party that believes in man and in manhood; not a democratic party that believes in using power to crush the weak; not a democratic party that loves to put the negro, or any other human being, under foot; but a democratic party that believes in educating and elevating a man, and then clothing him with all the rights that God has given him, and making a society of free men, and not a society of whom a part shall be oppressors and a part shall be slaves.

"A word, now, on a point that Mr. Thompson alluded to. It is one full of solemn responsibility. The battle we are fighting in the field is but a plow share. The sowing time is to come. There will be on the hands of this people a vast work of reconstruction. My earnest entreaty is that enlightened men will deseminate right principles on the whole subject all over the land. Let us, in prayer, weigh the question of what we shall do with the negro, and ask intelligent men to go through the length and breadth of the country, and tell the people about it. And, in closing, let me say, the negro must have land; the negro must have schools; the negro must vote; a political career must be opened to the negro; and then America will rise to her true place among the nations of the earth (applause)."

When men hitherto distinguished for what has so long passed in this country for "conservatism" utter sentiments like these, we cannot help thinking that our country is in a hopeful condition. We cite such evidences of progress, however, not to lull the friends of freedom to sleep, but to stimulate them to put forth the efforts that are still necessary to ensure the triumph of their cause.

At one of the meetings [of the American Anti-Slavery Society] there was quite a passage of words between Mr. Phillips and George Thompson, the former calling England a second-rate power, which Mr. Thompson of course resented.—*New York Observer.*

The Observer having been in the habit for thirty years of giving currency, annually, to a budget of misstatements (to use a very mild term) respecting the meetings of Abolitionists, our readers will not be at all surprised when we inform them that the only truth in the above paragraph is in the statement that Mr. Phillips called England "a second-rate power." The allegation that Mr. Thompson "resented" the allusion, and that a "passage of words" followed, is wholly untrue. Mr. Thompson made no reply whatever to Mr. Phillips, and probably felt no inclination to do so; but if he had spoken, it would have been, we venture to say, to express a feeling the very opposite of "resentment."

Our Washington Correspondence.

Washington, May 24, 1864.

Our public men are too thin-skinned. Why should a member of Congress, of all other men in the world, be exempt from criticism? Yet, in the course of eight years of Washington life, spent entirely in watching the course of Congress and the government and commenting thereupon, I have constantly been harassed by the complaints of public men, and especially of members of Congress. It is not so much that they deny facts charged, as it is that they dislike criticism altogether. It should be remembered that these are men engaged in criticizing public men themselves—denouncing generals, Cabinet ministers, parties and newspapers. But they do not like it when newspapers criticize them and their acts. This is not true of every member of Congress—perhaps not of a majority of them—but it is of very many. I have been led, by the frequent complaints I hear among public men of newspapers and newspaper correspondents, to review the whole subject in my own mind, and I have come to the conclusion that it is the duty of the honest and faithful correspondent to write with the utmost freedom his opinions of men and debates—men and acts—that if a correspondent is not critical he is good for nothing. Nor is he necessarily a fault-finder, or a scold, because he criticizes his own political friends, and sometimes with severity. This is why in this correspondence I have written plainly my views of men—have criticized men whom I love and admire, their speeches and their votes. Because I admire Mr. Fessenden for his many great qualities, is it any reason why I should not criticize some acts of his which seem to be (to me) indefensible? Because Charles Sumner is one of the greatest men of the age and one of the truest to freedom, is it any evidence of unfriendliness if I should even criticize his course upon a particular question? Of course not. But the Americans are a thin-skinned race, and an honorable member of Congress is usually a little thinner skinned than the average of the race.

This will answer for a preface to a Washington letter, and I will proceed to my usual business.

In the House, since my last letter, the business transacted is not of vital importance. There was a disgraceful scene one day, in which Messrs. Mallory and Julian were the actors. Mr. Julian, however, was not to blame. Gen. Ben. F. Loan of Missouri also classed himself (by his conduct) with the slaveholding bullies and brutes of the South. Without any provocation whatever he characterized Mr. Dawes of Mass. (one of the ablest and most decorous members of the House) as "a liar and a dirty dog"—quoting Senator Benton's phrase in reference to John Pettit of Indiana. Gen. Loan has lost position by this resort to ungentlemanly language in a debate with one of the oldest members of the House. If a resolution of censure had been offered, it would have passed the House. In the matter alluded to between Messrs. Mallory and Julian—the former was excessively angry upon perusing *The Globe* one day, to find that the gentleman from Indiana had given him a rather severe hit, and, as Mr. Stevens said, a "rude" hit, though I think a justifiable one. Upon examination, he ascertained that Mr. Julian had corrected the reporter's remarks, and had furnished a new copy in his own handwriting. He thereupon charged that Mr. Julian had *afterwards* inserted the offensive paragraph, and he pronounced him a forger as well as a falsifier. For a time, Mr. Julian was "under a cloud"—he could not find the reporter's notes. He denied the infamous charges of Mallory, but the furious Kentuckian had him somewhat at an advantage. Fortunately, before the debate closed, Mr. Julian found his notes—or rather the notes of the reporter—which fully justified his own statements. Mr. Mallory was compelled to get up and retract his charge of forgery, though he did not in a manly fashion render a suitable apology to Mr. Julian. These disgraceful scenes in Congress have been frequent of late, and many persons in their haste pronounce the opinion that they are as frequent as when the rebel States were represented, but it is not a fact; and there is another important fact which they overlook—that in nearly all these encounters, it is men from slave States who are guilty of the outrages alluded to. In the two cases alluded to-day it was Mallory of Kentucky and Loan of Missouri who were the guilty persons, one now a slaveholder and the other a slaveholder till the war burned its way across the institution in Missouri.

Congress seems to be in no haste for final adjournment. It is understood that several leading Republican Senators favor the continuation of the session as late as possible, on the ground that there may be a pressing necessity for the presence of Congress late in the Summer. The House, on the other hand, is impatient for an adjournment. The warm weather of the last few weeks has intensified this feeling, and a compromise will have to be arranged between the friends of a long session and the supporters of the proposition to adjourn at an early day. The President's opinion upon the subject is not understood. Generally speaking, an Administration is glad to get rid of the presence of Congress. I suppose this is true of the present Administration, but do not know it.

I am still afraid to write of military affairs. Who knows but Grant will win an overwhelming victory within three days? If he does, comment upon the small reverses of the past week will be very poor reading! Still, it is true that the history of every day and week of this Administration, and especially of this war, is full of interest. Gen. Butler, in retreating from Fort Darling to his intrenchments, as I understand it, was very roughly handled, and his loss was large. Gen. Sigel, too, was worsted in an encounter with Breckinridge. The Army of the Potomac fights stubbornly below Fredericksburg, but gets towards Richmond *slowly*. To turn from the fighting of the hour to a military matter of another kind, let me express my gratification at the remarks of Senator Fessenden on the Frank Blair Major-Generalship question.

He spoke as follows:

"Gen. Blair, however, being actually in command as an officer, and in high command, we have something to do with his case, because whether a man is Major-General or a Brigadier-General depends upon our confirmation as well as upon the President's nomination; and therefore it is not only our right, but it becomes our duty to look into that subject if we know the fact, and we cannot help knowing the fact, because the whole of it is contained in a communication under the signature of the President, admitted and stated by him to Congress. We have a right, and it is our duty to take notice of the fact as it exists, and to inquire whether he is a Major-General in the service of the United States; and, as I have before remarked, it depends upon us as well as upon the President, in the first instance, whether he is a Major-General in the service of the United States. I think it very proper, therefore, that we should investigate that matter, and in view of the simple position which I have stated, of course I shall vote for the amendment proposed by the Senator from Massachusetts to the original resolution, because it is confined to the matter which it is proper that we should inquire into and is direct upon that subject.

"Whether the question is to be referred to the Committee on the Judiciary or not, Senators will decide according to their own wishes and judgment. For myself individually, I should not vote to refer it, because I am perfectly clear in my own mind that, on each of the grounds stated in the amendment proposed by the Senator from Massachusetts, Gen. Blair clearly is not an officer of the United States. When he resigned his commission, and that resignation was accepted without qualification, he ceased to be a Major-General, and he could not be made a Major-General again without our permission."

I should not think that the President would like to read such an opinion as that from one of the ablest men in the Senate, and that man of his own party.

Avon.

Proceedings of the American Anti-Slavery Society at its Third Decade [thirty years from its formation], held in the city of Philadelphia, Dec. 3d and 4th, 1863, with an appendix, and a Catalogue of Anti-Slavery Publications in America, from 1750 to 1863. An octavo pamphlet, of 175 pages. Just published, and for sale at the Anti-Slavery offices, 48 Beekman st., New York; 106 North Tenth st., Philadelphia; and 221 Washington st., Boston. Price, *Fifty Cents*. On receipt of this sum, a copy will be sent, postage prepaid, to any given address.

Relief of Louis Napoleon.—The Editor acknowledges the receipt of $5 from Mr. Cornelius Bramhall, of Orange, N. J., and $5 from Slocum Howland of Sherwood's Corners, N. Y., for the relief of Louis Napoleon.

Sydney Howard Gay acknowledges the following sums, received for the same purpose: Robt. Haydock, $5, Wm. Wharton $5, Miss Wait $2, E. Ferris $1.

Susan B. Anthony's post office address after the present date will be Rochester, N. Y.

Our Boston Correspondence.

Boston, May 23d, 1864.

Wars, and rumors of wars, but the end not yet. For the last two weeks our city, like yours, and like all towns and cities throughout the land, has been watching with intense eagerness the proceedings North and South of Richmond. At last, we have leaders on both sides of that city who are certainly trying to take it, and to break the power of the enemy. Possibly, McClellan had the same desire; but the fact was not apparent, and various opposing facts were apparent. Now, there is no doubt whatever that Grant and Butler wish to overthrow the rebellion, and are doing all they can, and a great deal, to accomplish it. The removal of that doubt is an immense gain to the nation's cause, whether or not entire success shall be yet attained.

The first *great* instalment of favorable army news reached us on Sunday, the 8th inst. Even the Daily *Advertiser* got out an extra that Sunday morning. The news-boys did an active and profitable business. Men (and women too) went reading their papers along the streets on their way to their respective "sanctuaries," and after taking their seats in the same. One thought, one hope, one interest filled all hearts. And no hearer was surprised when the preacher for that day before the 28th Congregational Society (Rev. David A. Wasson) prefaced his sermon with some remarks upon that one subject.

He was about, he said, to speak to them on "The Unpardonable Sin." But it would be an unpardonable sin to omit first to congratulate his hearers on the good news that had just arrived; and of these good news he considered the most welcome items to be that the evil charm of McClellanism was broken in Virginia, and that Gen. Banks was superseded in Louisiana.

By the way, since The Standard is a *religious* paper—I wish those papers that try to monopolize the name were half as much so—and since Mr. Wasson brought out of his old-fashioned subject a practical lesson in regard to the one thing needful of the present day, I will briefly state to you his idea respecting the topic above mentioned.

He had attended, some weeks before, some sessions of a revival in Springfield, in this State, which was in successful progress under charge of a professed revivalist. This leader disclaimed all undue effort at the excitement of fear, but gave, of course, the inevitable sermon on "the unpardonable sin." This sermon gave rise to the discourse I am now reporting to you, by suggesting to Mr. Wasson the inquiry—What, probably, had Jesus in mind when he spoke of "the sin against the Holy Ghost"?

It seems to have been a malignant opposition to God's progressive speech and work in the world; a partisanship of *past* revelation which not only refused to receive the present revelation as good, but stigmatized it as infernal.

Jesus demanded that men should of themselves judge what is right; that in place of their documentary and traditional religion they should take these four words: Love God: love man.

Against their own reason and their own hearts they rejected this counsel. They could not deny its justice and reasonableness, but they said—This contradicts our infallibly inspired system—and they therefore refused it.

Man in this condition is in a case of spiritual deadlock.

If the living voice of God in our souls is assumed to be the voice of delusion and of hell, we are sealed against truth and light. There is for that man a total prohibition of inward growth. He does his best to commit a sin unpardonable.

The contemptuous rejection of God's new truth offered to man is the unpardonable sin. The rejector of this is made not better but worse by his formal maintenance of belief in the old. If clinging to tradition makes us neglect the moral and spiritual illumination of our own day, it does us the worst possible injury. Publicans and harlots are less dangerous companions than the people who teach and exemplify this system.

Consecrate the letter, and you lose the benefits even of the letter. When the judiciary falls to a slavish copying of precedent, it soon loses the power to understand precedent. To stand still is to fall back. He is truest to the spirit of the past who pushes forward to the fresh future.

The unpardonable sin then is malignant opposition to the spirit of truth in its fresh utterances. The new inspiration in the world is the salvation of the world. Our acceptance of this measures our prosperity in the present, and our contributions to the future.

No nation ever had more need to heed these truths than our nation now.

Our House of Representatives (more properly misrepresentatives), insisting on the word "white" as an indispensable qualification of voters in the Territory of Montana, gives a good illustration of the unpardonable sin.

How base, too, is their higgling about the pay of the negro soldiers! their effort to diminish the allowance of thirteen dollars a month to be shot on!

If nations follow truth at all, though with short and halting steps, they may still be tolerated, in general. But moments come when the exigency of their case is such that progress or death must be required. At such moments, a return to dead customs, or a sluggishness in abandoning them, may be utter ruin.

A selfish respecting of races has brought us to death's door. Our fate now hangs balanced and doubtful. If we are to be saved, it is respect and justice to man as man that must heal us.

How many pastors, think you, preach the Gospel as faithfully as that in these times?

Your intelligent Washington correspondent, referring to certain transactions in which "the Blairs" have shown a signal independence of honor, as well as of honesty, and especially to that secret and suspicious-looking arrangement with the President by which one of those gentlemen was to be Member of Congress or Major-General, whichever he wished

cently published, in the Hilton Head correspondence of *The Evening Post*.

This letter, directed to the (then) General-in Chief, was an earnest recommendation of the immediate adoption of certain measures which, besides being just in themselves, would strongly tend to increase the welfare of the colored people, and also the value and general efficiency of the colored soldiers. Among these recommendations were the following, namely: that the pay of white and colored soldiers should be the same; that all distinctions stigmatizing the colored man as inferior should be scrupulously avoided; and that the families of colored soldiers should be allowed to locate upon and cultivate land in advance of the regular survey and sale thereof.

How unspeakably far beyond its present point might our cause now have been advanced, if a policy kindred to this had been adopted when Gen. Phelps suggested it—when Gen. Hunter suggested it—when Gen. Butler suggested it—or when, so late as the end of last year, Gen. Gillmore suggested it! To what one man is it chiefly owing that these recommendations have been ignored or negatived?

To me it seems that, if President Lincoln had had the heart to originate and ordain this policy, or even the practical wisdom to give it his hearty coöperation when suggested by others, these two things would have happened: first, three quarters of the nation would immediately and heartily have acquiesced in that decision *when made* (even though they would not have advised it had their advice been asked); next, the great contest would ere now have been (substantially) decided in our favor, through the weight of four-and-a half million of our population which, now divided and alienated by the vacillating and incongruous policy of the Administration, would have been thrown immediately, unitedly and energetically into our scale, as soon as that policy was adopted.

The *pros* and *cons* respecting the President's position are skilfully stated (exceptions excepted) in last week's STANDARD, by Wendell Phillips's speech on one side, and the letter of your Philadelphia correspondent on the other. There are the pleadings of counsel, presented certainly, with great ability, and each of us who reads is to form a judgment of their correctness. My judgment is that Mr. Phillips made a concession entirely unjustifiable when he said that he had "no charge to make against the Administration for the past—*no fault to find with it*"; and when he further said of that Administration—"I am going to allow *the best disposition of the heart;* all I am going to find fault with is the head." Through this unseasonably and unreasonably good-natured admission of Mr. Phillips, his antagonist *has* him, and is enabled to show the beginning and end of his speech to be mutually contradictory.

On the other hand, the antagonist's position, that "The *best* security the Administration can give the negro for the perpetuity of his liberty is the present removal of the chains which hold him in slavery," is not for a moment to be admitted. The really best security for the ex-slaves—that which the Administration might have given them, and was bound alike by justice and policy (both civil and military policy) to give them—was the substitution of *freedom* for slavery; the giving them of *equal rights with other men under the laws of the United States*. Instead of this, when the essential element of enslavement was removed (the liability to be held and used, bought and sold, as *property*), the ex-slaves were left in an anomalous position, receiving no instructions from the government which severed their chain, invested with no rights which might have guided them in taking action for themselves, hoping much from the nation which had interposed so far in their behalf, but *not knowing* either what to expect in the future or how to conduct in the present.

Under the circumstances, they had only bitter enmity to expect from the slaveholders, the only landholders, and almost the only men who had employment to give. They found the poor whites of the South equally unfriendly. When they fled for refuge to the Yankee armies, the soldiers of that nation which had interposed to break their chains, they were, in a majority of cases, repulsed with a manifestation of brutal prejudice. Where were they to go? What to do? How to live? How be secured from the insults and indignities which three-quarters, at least, of all the white people were disposed to heap upon them? Not one of these just and reasonable questions was answered. They were left at the mercy of circumstances. As soon as Gen. Phelps showed a disposition to help them in Louisiana, he was removed. When Gen. Butler had organized a system which helped the negroes at the same time that it held the rebels in effective subjection, he was removed, and his system reversed. Then Gen. Banks established an oppressive system of serfdom, compelling the reluctant negroes to a position half-way between enslavement and freedom. Afterwards, having made gross blunders in his military capacity, he is (said to be) removed, apparently for that reason; *but his oppressive laws against the blacks are allowed to remain.* Shall an Administration of whose policy *this* is the last result be declared to have given the negro *the best security it could* for the perpetuity of his liberty? I trow not.

NORTH.

AMEND THE CONSTITUTION.

THE Women's National League have just sent out, all through the States, FIFTEEN THOUSAND Petitions, with an appeal to have them filled up and returned as speedily as possible.

The Bill to amend the Constitution so as to prohibit the holding of slaves in any part of the country has passed the Senate. Now comes the struggle in the House. If every one of the fifteen thousand persons—at least ten thousand of them ministers—will but gather up one hundred or more names, A MILLION-VOICED PETITION may yet pour into the Representatives' Hall; and such a voice from THE PEOPLE cannot but make sure the vote, and leave the Bill ready for the President's signature, and Congress disposed to recommend that a special session of each State Legislature be called immediately to act upon the question; and thus the hateful thing, SLAVERY, be buried out of sight before the opening of the Presidential campaign.

Let the petitions be mailed to Washington, direct, to some member, or to Hon. Thos. D. Eliot, Chairman of Committee on Slavery and Freedmen. *There is not a day to be lost.* LET ALL WORK.

☞ Form of Petition now sent out by the Women's League:

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States, in Congress assembled:

The undersigned, citizens of ——— believing Slavery the great cause of the present rebellion, and an institution fatal to the life of Republican government, earnestly pray your honorable bodies to immediately abolish it throughout the United States; and to adopt measures for so amending the Constitution as forever to prohibit its existence in any portion of our common country.

THE "OLD FOGIES" DISPLEASED.—This is Anniversary week in Boston. The man selected to preach the discourse before the American Tract Society (Boston branch, but older than that in New York) was Henry Ward Beecher; while at the Jubilee Breakfast of the same Society, in Faneuil Hall, Mr. Beecher was assigned a prominent place as a speaker. All this greatly displeased the "old fogy" divines, one of whom writes dolefully to the Boston *Courier* that it is a sign of "the declension of the times," and goes on to give his opinion about Mr. Beecher in unmistakable terms: "Mr. Beecher, as we all know, has assailed almost every fundamental doctrine of Christianity as held by the orthodox, and has been taken to task for it in the religious papers. His sermons, if sermons they can be called, are the most weak, vacillating and jejune preached by any man professing to be orthodox, if we may except his brother of Georgetown; and yet, the Tract Society, whose founders and early supporters were men sound in the faith, sober and practical men, and truly benevolent, has engaged the services of this mountebank in theology to honor the memory of the prayerful and good men who originated their institution." Truly, these are hard times for ministers who find in the Boston *Courier* a fit organ of their griefs!

ACKNOWLEDGMENT.—It is believed that the following payments in aid of the *Third Decade* Meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society, at Philadelphia, in December last, and which were received some time subsequent to the holding of the meeting, have not before been acknowledged:

Mary Lewis, Pennsylvania,	$10 00
B. Scheffelin,	5 00
Rebecca Sellers, "	2 25
Helen E. Garrison, Boston,	2 00

Philadelphia Correspondence.

PHILADELPHIA, May 23.

THE STANDARD'S report of the proceedings at New York makes J. M. McKim, in one place, say that "Mr. Lincoln had wisely awaited the direction of events." This is not exactly correct. Mr. McKim may have said that Mr. Lincoln *had* awaited the direction of events, but he did not express any opinion as to whether that waiting was wise or unwise. His remarks on this point were made in reply to a charge that the President had no policy, that he simply "drifted." Mr. McKim said that the President had a policy, and one which he avowed: it was that of following the lead of events.

In referring to this, my object is to make the record right, not to argue the question. I may be allowed to say, however, in passing, that the policy of the President is not wholly without precedent. Quakers have a rule of action which teaches that the way to do in circumstances of difficulty is to "move as way opens"; and medical men who are wisest in their profession make it a point to "treat symptoms as they rise." These rules may possibly not hold good in matters of statesmanship, but there are those who consider them as useful in one situation of life as in another.

In my last letter I spoke of "cheerful confidence in the future," and encouraged Abolitionists to cherish this feeling. To do so argues no insensibility to evils present or troubles to come. No man whose soul is not dead within him can be indifferent to the calamities which now afflict and threaten this nation. The expenditure, at this moment going on, of life and treasure, is truly appalling. I am, where I am now sitting, surrounded by military hospitals of enormous magnitude, every ward and corridor of which is filled with the sick and wounded. For weeks past, travel on our great thoroughfares from the frontiers North has been obstructed by long trains of these brave men coming home to be restored to health or to be buried among their friends. Famished skeletons from Libby have formed part of this melancholy cortege, and now fresh thousands from the new battle-fields swell the procession—still far from being complete. The cost in treasure keeps pace with the outlay in life. Witness our inflated currency and the increased price of all commodities. People who live on fixed and narrow incomes are asking anxiously, What are we coming to? As yet pestilence and famine, those historical accompaniments of long and bloody civil wars, have not been added to our cup; but that they will be, is not without the range of possibility. Nevertheless, there is ample ground in the signs of the future for cheerful confidence. These trials through which we are passing are the throes which precede a nation's regeneration.

This is a cup of our own mingling. These very retributions have an element of comfort in them. They are an assurance of the truth of men's deepest convictions. They are evidence that we are governed by a beneficent law, and not by blind chance. They are an answer to the question: "Shall not the Judge of all the earth do right?" A good man has pleasure in his own pain when he sees that pain to be the fruit of disobedience. A converted nation has a satisfaction in its own sufferings when it sees in them sequences of its own sins. One of the signs of grace in this nation—not yet wholly converted, but fast turning—is that wherever one goes, one hears people saying, "We deserve it all; it is the fruit of our own doings; and we shall know no deliverance till our repentance shall be complete. This is the general feeling; when it becomes a universal one, the work will be done. For then we shall have put away our sin; our bands of wickedness will be loosed; peace will return and flow like a river; we shall be like "a watered garden and a spring of water whose waters fail not."

—On these points, of course, all are agreed; and this is the end we are all aiming at. How are we to bring this end about? In the same way by which—so far as we had any hand in it—we brought about the present state of things. How was that? Not by the machinery of a Presidential election; not by the power of a political-party combination; but by the inherent and resistless power of truth; the truth spoken in simplicity, without fear or favor; the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth.

This is not to undervalue the uses of party combinations, nor to draw in question the right of Abolitionists to join these combinations to make and unmake Presidents, but it is to assert that the truth is now, as it ever has been, the chief reliance of Abolitionists for the accomplishment of the end of their mission, and to suggest that the curse of a national evil in a popular government is not to be found in a change of administration. If the Administration be up to the mark of the people, and in advance of their chosen representatives, no change is called for; if to attempt such a change would be attended with the risk of putting the government into the hands of the common enemy, such an attempt would be greatly to be deprecated.

The question then arises: Is Mr. Lincoln's Administration, or is it not, up to the mark of the people? Some say it is, and some say it is not; while other some admit that it may be, but that it ought to be in advance of the people; and that being in advance, it should use the power placed in its hands by circumstances to settle the question now agitating the country on principles of abstract justice. Here men who have always hitherto seen eye to eye on vital questions suddenly diverge. Here, for the first time since the schism of 1840, the American Anti-Slavery Society is divided in opinion.

The nomination of James G. Birney for the Presidency, twenty-four years ago, by those who went off, was advocated as the surest road to political power, and—through the exercise of that power—the shortest cut to the end of slavery. It was opposed on the ground, first, of its impracticability, and second, of its inexpediency; one of the arguments under the latter head being, that no legislation—supposing it to be attainable—in advance of public opinion, is any advantage to a reform; that governmental action, before the people are prepared for it, hurts, in the end, rather than helps the cause it is intended to promote.

Now, without undertaking to say how far these principles apply in the present case, it will not be assuming too much to suggest that the greatest danger in all revolutions is from the reaction of public opinion. This has been signally illustrated in the two great overturnings of France: that of 1789–94, and the later one of 1848. The two Napoleons came in successively on the reflux tide, each establishing a despotism on foundations laid for quite a different structure. The first French revolution was started by radical men of conservative tendencies, and progressed for awhile to the admiration of the world. The friends of liberty rejoiced, and despots trembled. But it fell into the hands of "ultra-revolutionists," the demagogue reformers of that day, and despots, taking heart and opportunity, reëstablished their thrones. The second revolution, in which the poet Lamartine, Ledru Rollin, and Louis Blanc undertook to transfer by a *coup d'etat* the government of France from the leading strings of a limited monarchy to the full-blown liberty of a socialistic republic, shared the same fate, and was followed by the same consequences. A counter revolution and a counter *coup d'etat* restored poor France to her original despotism. This is "philosophy teaching by example."

Thus far, thank Heaven, in this revolution of ours, there has been no reaction. We have kept all we have gained. In the Fall of 1862, it must be confessed, our advantages were put in some peril, owing, it must be added, to the culpable hesitancy of the Administration; but since then we have been making steady progress. On the battle-field, in the political situation, on the moral arena, in the line of universal freedom—everywhere we are in advance; and we take no steps backward.

Frequent use is made now-a-days of the words "radical" and "conservative," and odd applications are given to these terms. The former, till lately so odious, has come quite into favor. It now *pays* to be radical, and aspiring patriots desire to be so designated. Said an eloquent friend of the Administration at a public meeting the other night, "Mr. Lincoln is the wisest *Radical* of us all." Said a bitter opponent of the Administration on a subsequent occasion: "Give us a radical man like Fremont for our leader; anybody but the imbecile *Conservative* that now occupies the Presidential chair."

At the opening of the first French revolution, the most conspicuous, and perhaps the most obnoxious man among the radicals was the Marquis de Lafayette. He denounced the government; he asserted the rights of the people; he advocated the most thorough measures of reform—including the absolute freedom of all the negroes in the colonies. He took his stand broadly for the rights of man and for universal justice. This stand he maintained with consistence to the end of his career. In the initial stages of the controversy, it brought him into collision with the King and Nobles; in its final developments it confronted him with the "ultra-revolutionists" and demagogue leaders. He denounced both as enemies of the people and of constitutional liberty. Toward the former he was radical; toward the latter conservative; but to both and to all he was the same consistent and devoted friend of constitutional liberty and even-handed justice.

There is but little danger that the revolution now begun in this country will not go far enough; and not much more that it will not go fast enough. In a popular government rival interests are promoted by *outbidding under*—by bidding higher. Parties in power and parties out of power have a like motive for deferring to the ruling idea. When slavery bore sway in this country all ambitions knelt at its shrine; now that liberty is in the ascendant, patriots willing to rule bring to her propitiatory offerings.

The negro is still the stepping-stone to power. He has performed this office for the last thirty years, and is likely to do the same thing for the next thirty; only in a different capacity. Hitherto it has been as a chattel slave; hereafter it is to be as a man and a brother. But demagogues will continue to make use of him. I heard a rough man say—just after the Proclamation: "The next thing you'll see will be the blacks made soldiers, and the next thing after that you will see them have the right to vote; and it will not be long after that till you see these d—d Democratic leaders going about *swearing they have negro blood in their veins!*"

It is altogether probable that Mr. Lincoln will be elected to the Presidency for a second term. This probability rests on the fact that he has yielded, and is willing to yield, to the pressure in favor of the negro. But it is not at all probable that he will be elected to a third term. By that time—supposing that there will be no reaction—a "a more radical man," a "better friend of the negro," will be chosen. And so it will continue to the end of this dispensation—till the problem shall be worked out.

"And what, in the meantime, is to become of the republic?" asks one of our Conservative English cousins. "What is to preserve you from being wrecked in one of these storms of popular passion? We have a breakwater, in our polity, against these dangers. The mixed form of our government—our throne and lords are a check on the tumult and license of the people."

Make the most of them, is our reply; we have safeguards which we think better; the intelligence of the people under free schools, and a wider lee-way for our ship under free institutions.

M.

NEW PUBLICATIONS.

HISTORY OF THE ADMINISTRATION OF PRESIDENT LINCOLN: including his Speeches, Letters, Addresses, Proclamations, and Messages. With a Preliminary Sketch of his Life. By HENRY J. RAYMOND. Pp. 496. New York: J. C. Derby and N. C. Miller, No. 5 Spruce st.

The author of this volume forewarns his readers that it does not profess to be, in any exact or important sense, a history of Mr. Lincoln's Administration; such a work requiring access to sources of information which cannot, from the nature of the case, be open to the public for many years to come. Its object is merely to collect and collate the speeches, messages, proclamations, and other documents, in which the President has embodied, from time to time, his sentiments on the affairs of the country, and set forth the motives which have prompted the successive acts of his Administration. These papers are connected by just so much of narrative as is essential to their appreciation. Mr. Raymond deals neither in eulogy or criticism, but places the acts and words of Mr. Lincoln in such a form as to enable the reader to judge for himself of the merits and defects of his policy. The work, therefore, will be as valuable for those who condemn as for those who approve the President's measures. Politicians and voters of every sort will find it very convenient for reference in the next Presidential election.

The most important chapter of the work is that containing the history of Gen. McClellan's career as commander of the Army of the Potomac, after reading which we find it impossible to resist the conclusion that his sympathies were with the South, and that he meant she should be ultimately victorious over the North. His course seems unaccountable to us upon any other supposition. The facts seem to show a desire on his part not to take Richmond, but to help Lee take Washington; and we believe that such will be the verdict of history.

GENERAL BUTLER IN NEW ORLEANS. By JAMES PARTON. People's Edition. Double Octavo, pp. 174. New York: Mason Brothers, 7 Mercer st.

In this edition of Gen. Butler's Life some of the longer documents have been omitted or abridged, but the general course of the narrative remains unchanged, and nothing has been omitted which is necesary for the understanding of the various subjects treated in the work. The abridgement, by making the work cheaper, will increase the number of readers—a result greatly to be desired. The influence of such a book in giving the people a clear view of the character and objects of the war and of the measures needed to bring it to a triumphant conclusion, can hardly be over-estimated. If it could be read by the voters of the North generally, it would put an end to their divisions and unite them in the one grand purpose of destroying slavery as the only way of putting down the rebellion.

THE EDINBURGH REVIEW for April (L. Scott & Co's American Edition, 36 Walker st.) contains nine articles: 1. Diaries of a Lady of Quality; 2. The History of Highways; 3. The Basque Country; 4. Human Sacrifices and Infanticide in India; 5. Charles-Victor de Bonstetten; 6. British North America; 7. Rifled Ordnance in England and France; 8. Kirk's Charles the Bold; 9. Renan's Life of Jesus.

BLACKWOOD'S MAGAZINE for April (L. Scott & Co's American Edition). *Contents:* 1. Charles O'Dowd upon Men and Women, and other things in General—Part III.; 2. Mr. Knight's Reminiscences; 3. Tony Butler, Part VII; 4. Our Neutrality; 5. Past and Present Troubles in Herat and Affghanistan; 6. Annie and her Master; 7. A Letter from Schleswig-Holstein.

THE WESTMINSTER REVIEW for April (L. Scott & Co's American Edition, 38 Walker st.) contains eight papers with the following titles: 1. The Basin of the Upper Nile and its Inhabitants; 2. Strikes and Industrial Coöperation; 3. The Abolition of Religious Tests; 4. The Prerogative of Pardon and the Punishment of Death; 5. New Zealand; 6. Taine's History of English Literature; 7. The Philosophy of Roger Bacon; 8. Contemporary Literature.

THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY for June contains the following articles: A Talk about Guides, by Maria S. Cummins, author of "The Lamplighter"; The Kaliff of Baldacca, by H. W. Longfellow; Life on the Sea Islands, by Charlotte Forten, II; A Fast Day at Foxden; Prospice, by Robert Browning; Washington Irving, by Donald G. Mitchell; The Ruin, II., by Harriet E. Prescott; The Neva, by Bayard Taylor; Robson, by Geo. Augustus Sala; The Parallel Roads of Glen Roy, by Louis Agassiz; Under the Cliff, by Robert Browning; House and Home Papers, VI., by Mrs. Stowe; Seven Weeks in the Great Yo-Semite, by Fitzhugh Ludlow; Shakspeare, by O. W. Holmes; How to use Victory; Reviews and Literary Notices.

THE CHRISTIAN EXAMINER for May contains the following papers: I. Victor Hugo; II. Springer's Art in the Nineteenth Century; III. The Freedmen and Free Labor in the South; IV. The Evangelist's Debt to the Critic; V. The American War as an English Question; VI. The Christian Patriot of California (Starr King); VII. Review of Current Literature. These themes, it will at once be seen, turn not the attention of the reader to the dead Past, but bring him face to face with the living Present. Boston: Walker, Wise & Co.

THE LETTER OF GOVERNOR ANDREW defining the legal status of the colored soldier, which will be found in our columes this week is inferior only in *official* weight to the opinion of Attorney-General Bates. It shows that the Governor is not only a sound lawyer but a wise statesman.

A VILLAIN PUNISHED.—John W. Andrews, one of the ringleaders in the riots of July last in this city, was convicted on Tuesday in the U. S. Circuit Court, and sentenced to the State Prison for three years.

OBITUARY.

HARRIET A. BURLEIGH.

Died, in Brooklyn, on the afternoon of the 18th inst., HARRIET A., wife of Wm. H. Burleigh. She was one among the early Abolitionists. She never faltered in her devotion to the cause of freedom, but cheerfully and bravely, according to her ability and her opportunities, bore her part in the strife with oppression both by her social influence, and by her pen. Her end was calm and peaceful, and her bereaved friends feel assured that her emancipated spirit has heard the heavenly benediction—"Inasmuch as ye did it unto the least of these, my brethren, ye did it unto me."

LOUISIANA A FREE STATE.—Whatever may be said of some objectionable features of the President's plan of Reconstruction in Louisiana, every friend of freedom must rejoice that the Constitution now under consideration in the State Convention will contain an explicit prohibition of slavery. On the 10th inst., an amendment to the 3d article of the report of the Committee on Emancipation was adopted, which prohibited the Legislature from ever passing any act permitting free colored citizens to vote. The amendment was out of place, even if not unjust in principle, and calculated to bring all the proceedings of the Convention into contempt, for qualifications of electors belonged to another title of the Constitution, and not to the act of emancipation, which act was separate and distinct from all others, and ought, in the nature of the case, to stand by itself. On the next day, however, as soon as the orders of the day were called, Mr. George A. Fosdick, in a few well-chosen remarks, exhibited the folly and inappropriateness of the amendment above referred to. It was then moved to strike out the amendment and article itself, together with the 4th and 5th articles of the report. And this motion was carried by a large majority. The report, as amended, was then put upon its final passage, and was adopted by an overwhelming vote. The Act of Emancipation, as finally passed, contains two articles, as follows:

We, the people of the State of Louisiana, in Convention assembled, do hereby declare and ordain as follows:

Section 1. Slavery and involuntary servitude, except for punishment of crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, are hereby forever abolished and prohibited throughout the State.

Section 2. The Legislature shall make no law recognizing the right of property in man.

On the day following the passage of the above ordinance a national salute in honor of the event was fired on the levee in New Orleans!

If the Constitution as finally adopted shall make color a disqualification for suffrage, we shall be very sorry; but we shall still rejoice in the abolition of slavery as an act which will in time secure for the negro full equality as a citizen and a voter.

GOV. CHASE AND THE MARGARET GARNER CASE.—On the 9th of January last we published a speech by Wendell Phillips, Esq., then recently delivered in the Cooper Institute, in which he remarked, that "on two great occasions, the virtue of the anti-slavery life" of Salmon P. Chase "was tested and proved base metal." One of the "great occasions" referred to was the Margaret Garner slave case, which occurred when Mr. Chase was Governor of Ohio. Having given currency to the accusation, justice to Mr. Chase imposed it upon us a duty to open our columns to such defence as he, or any friend entitled to speak for him, might wish to make. We have therefore given place on the first page to a communication, which *seems* to be a candid statement of all the facts in the case, and which Mr. Phillips himself, unless he is cognizant of other facts that put a different face on the matter, will probably accept as a satisfactory vindication. It is unnecessary to say that Mr. Phillips is incapable of doing injustice, intentionally, to any man, and we are sure that in this case he would rejoice to be convinced that he was mistaken. It is to be remembered, however, that Gov. Chase was severely censured by some of the friends of the anti-slavery cause in Ohio at the time when the events referred to took place. Our own impression hitherto has been that there was good ground for this censure, but we may have been mistaken as to the facts. If there are circumstances, important to a clear understanding of the case, which our correspondent has overlooked, let them be stated.

INVITATION TO THE REV. SELLA MARTIN.

NEW YORK, May 22, 1864.

REV. SELLA MARTIN—*Dear Sir:* Having learned through the press and otherwise of your valuable labors for the cause of the Union and humanity during your late residence in Great Britain, we, the undersigned, desire to make some recognition of those services by a public meeting, at which we hope you will give us your views on our great struggle, and of English opinion and feeling in reference to it. Should this proposition prove agreeable to you, we suggest Wednesday evening, 1st of June, as the time, and Cooper Institute as the place of meeting. Very truly yours,

Wm. Cullen Bryant,	Cyrus W. Field,
A. A. Low,	John McClintock,
J. W. Edmonds,	Charles H. Marshall,
Wm. Curtis Noyes,	Hiram Barney,
W. Adams,	Hy. Ward Beecher,
Theodore Tilton,	Richard M. Hoe,
S. D. Burchard,	Peter Cooper,
Parke Godwin,	Jas. McCune Smith,
Wm. Allen Butler,	Wm. E. Dodge,
David Dudley Field,	Chas. L. Reason,
S. H. Gay,	Jonathan Sturges,

And others.

Reply.

No. 34 LISPENARD STREET, N. Y., May 26, 1864.

Messrs. WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANT, CYRUS W. FIELD, *Rev. Dr.* MCCLINTOCK, *and others.*

Dear Sirs: Yours of the 22d inst. is before me. In reply permit me to say that, though my humble labors in England would bear no comparison to the honor which they have called forth in this requisition so numerously and influentially signed, yet, at a time like this, my sense of duty forbids me to shun any task, however difficult or painful, that would contribute to a better understanding between America and foreign nations, or a deeper appreciation of the value of our own institutions, or a larger spirit of self-sacrifice in maintaining them in their integrity. I therefore cheerfully accept your kind invitation to address you on the subject named, at the time and place specified. I am, gentlemen, yours truly, SELLA MARTIN.

SOUTH CAROLINA.—A Union Convention, called "without distinction of race or color," was held at Beaufort on the 17th, for the purpose of appointing delegates to the Presidential Convention at Baltimore. Radical resolutions were adopted, and sixteen delegates—fourteen white and two black men were chosen. Among the white delegates we observe the names of Gen. Saxton, Hon. A. D. Smith (formerly on the bench of the Supreme Court in Wisconsin, where he pronounced the Fugitive Slave law unconstitutional), and James G. Thompson, formerly of Philadelphia. One of the black delegates is Robert Small, the hero of the "Planter."

BLAIRISM.—Frank Blair, after retiring from Congress, made a speech at St. Louis, setting forth his political creed. Here it is:

"I am for the emancipation of the slaves within the jurisdiction of the United States: and I am in favor of their removal to a country in which they can establish their own government and their own constitution. But I am for maintaining this country for the benefit of the white people. I am opposed, while these negroes sojourn among us, to giving them rights over the white citizens of the country. I am opposed to clothing them with the privilege of suffrage. [A Voice—'Let them fight.'] I am in favor of their fighting if they will fight [laughter and cheers]. I have no objection to their fighting *if they will fight on our side.*"

This is Blairism. Could anything be more base?

PORTRAIT OF GARRISON.—Charles H. Brainard of Boston, has in preparation a large and elegant lithographic portrait of Mr. Garrison, from an original crayon drawing by Thomas M. Johnston, which he believes he is safe in asserting will be, in all respects, the most satisfactory portrait of this distinguished advocate of impartial freedom ever offered to the public. Size of print 21 by 27 inches. Price $1.50 for India Proof copies, which will be sent by mail, free of postage, on receipt of price. A liberal discount to agents.

WOMEN'S NATIONAL LEAGUE.—The regular meeting of the League will be held at 3½ o'clock, Friday afternoon of each week, at their Office, Room 20 Cooper Institute.

Members and all persons interested in the work of the League—viz.: rolling up a mammoth petition asking the present Congress to enact a law of Immediate and Universal Emancipation—are invited to attend.

Chronicles of the War.

Latest News in Brief.

LATEST BULLETIN FROM THE WAR DEPARTMENT.

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON,
Wednesday, May 25—9 P.M.

To Maj. Gen. DIX: The latest date from Gen. Grant's headquarters, received by this Department, is dated at Mount Carmel Church, 1 p.m. yesterday. The dispatch says everything is going well. Warren has four hundred prisoners, Hancock some three hundred, and Wright has picked up some. The whole number resulting from yesterday's operations will not fall short of a thousand. Warren's loss is not over three hundred, killed and wounded.

The prisoners captured are, in a great part, North Carolinians, are much discouraged, and say that Lee has deceived them.

The pursuit is delayed by the great fatigue of the men. Still, Hancock and Warren will reach the South Anna by nightfall.

Gen. Butler, in a dispatch, dated at headquarters in the field, at 7 o'clock this morning, reports that "Major-Gen. Fitzhugh Lee, lately promoted, made, with cavalry, infantry and artillery, an attack upon my post at Wilson's wharf, north side of James River, below Fort Powhatan, garrisoned by two regiments, all negro troops, Brig.-Gen. Wild commanding, and was handsomely repulsed. Before the attack Lee sent a flag, stating that he had force enough to take the place, demanded its surrender, and in that case the garrison should be turned over to the authorities at Richmond as prisoners of war, but if this proposition was rejected, he would not be answerable for the consequences when he took the place. Gen. Wild replied: 'We will try that.' Reinforcements were at once sent, but the fight was over before their arrival. Our loss in not yet reported."

No other reports of military operations have been received by the department since my telegram of 9.30 last evening.

EDWIN M. STANTON,
Secretary of War.

Special Dispatch to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, Wednesday, May 25.

An officer, just arrived from the front, states that when he left headquarters yesterday, at 2 o'clock, p.m., the rebel army was in full retreat toward Richmond, with our army in quick pursuit. As the rear guard of Lee's army was crossing the North Anna River, Hancock pounced on it with great fury, capturing several hundred prisoners, and killing and wounding large numbers. Scores of rebels were drowned while attempting to swim the river.

He further states that for once the stories of the demoralization of Lee's forces are true. It is with great difficulty that the rebel commanders can keep their troops from becoming panic-stricken. Stragglers were being captured by the dozens on the roadside and in the woods. It was the impression in the army that Lee could not organize his forces even for defensive operations, this side of his intrenchments at Richmond. Several hundred of our wounded arrived here to-day from Fredericksburg. The last of our wounded are expected to leave Fredericksburg to-morrow. Our gunboats patrol the Rappahannock from its mouth to Fredericksburg. Guerillas and straggling parties of rebel cavalry line the shores and occasion much annoyance.

The Army and the Negroes.

"EVERYWHERE THE AMERICAN GENERAL RECEIVES HIS MOST USEFUL AND RELIABLE INFORMATION FROM THE NEGRO, who hails his coming as the harbinger of Freedom."—Wm. H. Seward's Official Dispatch to Mr. Adams.

GEN. BUTLER'S THOROUGHNESS.

Nine officers of a colored regiment at Fortress Monroe having resigned for insufficient cause at the approach of active operations, Gen. Butler has forwarded their resignations to the President, with a recommendation that they be remanded to their former regiments, to serve out their time as private soldiers.

BRAVERY OF NEGRO TROOPS.

PORT HUDSON, LA., April 12, 1864.

It is a well-approved fact that negroes are brave in many instances. Among the wounded landed here two days ago from the Red river country, was a sergeant who had flung defiance in the very teeth of a rebel colonel and a dozen associates in the street of a village between Alexandria and Shreveport, shooting the colonel and two or three others, and giving up only when he had received three shots, the last of which entered his jaw on one side and passed out through his cheek on the other. He was stunned or bewildered, and was left for dead, but fortunately found himself able to get away and rejoin his company. A second had part of his left hand carried away, but stood his ground until a ball passed obliquely through his chest and left arm and rendered him powerless.—*Cor. Springfield Repub.*

A COLORED SENTINEL.

A colored sentinel was recently marching on his beat in the streets of Norfolk, Va., when a white man, passing by, shouldered him insolently off the sidewalk, quite into the street. The soldier, on recovering himself, called out:

"White man, halt!"

The white man, Southerner-like, went straight on. The sentinel brought his musket to a present, cocked it, and hailed again:

"White man, HALT, or I'll fire!"

The white man, hearing *shoot* in the tone, halted, and faced about.

"White man," continued the sentry, peremptorily, "come here!"

He did so.

"White man," said the soldier again, "me no care one cent 'bout this particklar Cuffee; but white man bound to respeck this uniform (striking his breast). White man, move on!"—*Independent.*

REBEL TESTIMONY.

A correspondent of *The Anglo-African* from the Mass. 54th Regiment says:

Here are three rebs. They are sent to see Mr. Jemmy Finnegan, and report. They are absent-minded. They forget to return. They cast their lots with ours. Let us have a chat with them. "You black soldiers fight like the devil. It is twice we met you. Once at James Island, and tother day at Olustee. We know all the Massachusetts flags. You peppered us like h—ll. Out of eighty-five men we lost sixty. You may starve us out, but you can never conquer us."

"Well, where are our prisoners?"

"At Lake City, white and black. We did not kill them. We treat them alike."

COLORED SOLDIERS AND SLAVE PENS.

A regiment of colored troops passed through Baltimore to-day for the seat of war, passing directly over the same ground that our Massachusetts soldiers did three years ago. They were not in the least molested, and as they were marching past, one of the staunchest Union men of the city, who last Summer, when Lee was supposed to be at the gates, was among those who were to be furnished with a free pass to Castle Thunder, took grim satisfaction in reminding a bystander who he knew would in that case be permitted to remain under the new rulers, that this was the 19th of April.

Campbell's, formerly Slater's slave pen, one of the most infernal dens for the detention and sale of slaves in this city, was pulled down to-day. It has not been used much of late, and its destruction indicates that its dreadful occupation is gone forever.—*Balt. Cor. Springfield Repub.*

CAPTURE OF SIXTEEN PRISONERS BY THE FIFTY-FOURTH MASSACHUSETTS REGIMENT.

On the night of Friday, the 23d inst., the 54th Massachusetts (colored) Regiment gained for themselves laurels which will be willingly accorded to them by the other troops in the Department. On the occasion in question a party of 16 rebels launched boats from James Island with the evident view of passing down our lines on the west side of Morris Island in order to gain a little information with reference to the disposition of our troops in that locality.

The night was quite dark, consequently by no means unfavorable for the accomplishment of the rebel design. But as luck would have it, our men doing picket duty on the creek, were too vigilant for the interest of the rebels, and as they came down in their rickety skulls, they were at a favorable moment challenged by a detachment of the 54th. Failing to give a satisfactory response they were ordered to lay by their oars by our pickets, with which command they readily complied, and, as would be naturally supposed, it was not long before they were in our possession as prisoners of war.—*Port Royal News South, April 30.*

Special Notices.

YEARLY MEETING OF PROGRESSIVE FRIENDS.—The Twelfth Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Progressive Friends will be held at LONGWOOD (near Hamorton), Chester Co., Pa., beginning at 10 o'clock, a.m., on Fifth-day, the 2d of Sixth month, and continuing, probably, for three days.

This Society demands assent to no system of doctrines, institutes no priesthood, prescribes no form of worship; but, cherishing the utmost liberty of religious opinion, inquiry and speculation, seeks its bond of union in a common love of God as a Universal Father, a common regard for mankind as one Brotherhood, common aspirations for moral and religious excellence, and common labors to redeem the world from ignorance, superstition and sin, and introduce the era of universal righteousness and peace. Welcoming and cherishing whatever of truth was spoken or recorded in the past, it nevertheless looks continually for fresh revelations of the Divine will, and rejoices in the assurance that it is the privilege of the pure in heart, not less now than in former ages, to hold communion with God and to be guided by the teachings of his Holy Spirit. The time of its public assemblies is devoted, not to sectarian propagandism, nor to unprofitable strife and debate in regard to modes of faith and worship, but to the discovery and adoption of the measures best adapted to promote the welfare of the human family; to the application of the principles of justice and freedom to individuals, communities and nations; to the promulgation of testimonies against every system of oppression and wrong; to the cultivation of those sentiments, aspirations, yearnings and hopes which proclaim the soul of man immortal as his Maker; and to that exalted fellowship one with another which is the fruit of mutual toils and sacrifices in the cause of our common humanity.

All who feel attracted toward a Religious Society founded upon the principles, devoted to the objects, and animated by the spirit above described, are heartily invited to meet with us and take part in our deliberations.

Oliver Johnson,	Allen Agnew,
Mary Ann Fulton,	Jennie K. Smith,
Theodore D. Weld,	Hannah Cox,
Alice Eliza Hambleton,	Annie Stambach,
Alfred H. Love,	Dinah Mendenhall,
Sarah M. Barnard,	Susanna P. Chambers,
Thomas Hambleton,	Rachel Wilson.

Communications for the meeting may be addressed to Oliver Johnson, 48 Beekman st., New York, till the 30th of May; after that to Hamorton, Chester Co., Pa.

Among those who are confidently expected to attend the meeting, and who will do so unless prevented by causes not foreseen, are George Thompson of England, William Lloyd Garrison, and Theodore Tilton.

Longwood is about thirty miles west of Philadelphia, from which place it is reached by the cars of the Philadelphia and Baltimore Central Railroad, which runs each way twice a day. The Progressive Friends are hospitable to strangers.

FRIENDS OF HUMAN PROGRESS.—The Yearly Meeting of the Friends of Human Progress will be held at the usual place near Waterloo, on Friday, Saturday and Sunday, 3d, 4th and 5th days of June next.

A cordial invitation is extended to all who have ears to hear—all especially who prize most Truth and the interests of Humanity—who seek, before all else, the life and growth of the soul, to join us in this our annual gathering. Come, that we may mutually impart and receive counsel, encouragement and quickening.

REV. SAMUEL J. MAY, A. M. POWELL, C. D. B. MILLS, and other able speakers from abroad, will be present to participate in the discussions, and lend interest to the occasion.

Communications for the meeting should be addressed to PHEBE B. DEAN, Waterloo, N. Y.

PHEBE B. DEAN,	HARRIET A. MILLS,

Miscellaneous Department.

FOR THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.

MEMORY BELLS.

While the hues of evening linger
In the gently-glowing West—
Painting of our Father's finger
Just above the water's breast—

Then so softly, sweetly ringing
Through the chambers of my soul,
Memory Bells, an anthem singing,
Their low-sounding numbers roll;

And, as from the orient glowing,
Where the night-time greets the da
Slowly with the darkness going,
All the shadows glide away;

So, in the dim distance fading,
Where the present meets the past,
Gently parts the gloomy shading
That forgetfulness has cast.

The sweet bells, in fairy rhyming,
Tell the joys of long ago;
Of the dead a whisper chiming,
In their accents soft and low.

On from arch and gateway ringing,
By the magic of their powers,
Once more to the vision bringing
Beauties of our childhood's hours;

Waking from their dreamless slumbers
Forms beloved in other years;
Calling back, in countless numbers,
Long-since buried hopes and fears.

Seemeth like a dream of beauty,
With its lights and shades, the Past:
But there comes the voice of duty,
"Be ye faithful to the last!"

We must wake from all this dreaming,
That fromearnest work beguiles;
Change for real things the seeming;
Turn from fancy's witching smiles.

For, the while the soul is tracing,
In the corridors of time,
Scenes which gorgeous hues are gracing,
As with wealth of tropic clime;

Waits the Present with its duties,
With its labors unfulfilled;
And the Future shows its beauties,
Which the hopeful fancies gild.

Though the years that, bright and fleeting,
With our hopes—our fondest—sped,
Still send up a fragrant greeting,
As of rose-leaves, withered, dead;

For us yet there waits a blessing,
Brighter far than those of yore;
Upward, onward, we are pressing
To the distant "shining shore."

Often are these shadows flitting,
Clouding our dim, feeble sight:
We, alone in darkness sitting,
Strive in vain to seek the light.

May we strength and comfort borrow
From the joys of yesterday;
Wait the dawning of the morrow,
When the early twilight, gray,

Comes, of peace and home a token,
Of the ending of the strife;
When "our earthly toys are broken,"
And we seek a higher life.

Brooklyn, May, 1864. A. L. B.

SPEECH OF HON. GEORGE THOMPSON

AT THE SOCIAL REUNION OF THE AMERICAN CONGREGATIONAL UNION.

[The American Congregational Union held its annual Social Reunion in Plymouth Church, Brooklyn, on Thursday evening, May 12, Rev. Leonard Bacon, D.D., in the chair. The speakers were Rev. Henry Ward Beecher, Dr. Bacon, Rev. Theodore L. Cuyler, Rev. Thomas S. Hastings, George Thompson, Esq., and the Rev. Dr. Kirk of Boston. We publish Mr. Thompson's speech below, together with the remarks of the Chairman introducing him to the meeting.]

From The Independent.

Dr. Bacon—Before I introduce the distinguished stranger who is to speak next, I take the liberty of reading a portion of a letter in the nature of a report, which was read at the business meeting of the Congregational Union this afternoon. It was written by the Rev. President of Illinois College, who visited England about a year ago, and was commissioned by the trustees of the American Congregational Union to appear as their representative at the annual meeting of the Congregational Union of England and Wales.

"I was received by our English brethren composing the Congregational Union with the most pleasing tokens of fraternal sympathy and recognition, and abundant assurances of fervent desire for our growth and prosperity in the Lord. The most ample and favorable opportunities were afforded me of addressing the Union, and expressing our hearty fellowship with our English brethren of like faith and order. To all this, however, I owe it to exact truth to add, that there was one serious drawback. It was a sorrowful circumstance connected with my visit to that body, that I was especially requested to say nothing of the great conflict then and now raging in our country. The reason assigned for such a request was, that they were divided in sentiment on the subject, and any introduction of it would occasion a painful, and they thought profitless, debate, which they wished to avoid. I could not help calling to mind the many and very weighty exhortations which have come to us from these brethren in years past, to put away from our churches and our nation this giant iniquity—exhortations which have no doubt had an incidental influence in bringing on the solemn crisis to which our nation has come. And that now, in the midst of this fearful conflict between freedom and slavery, in which we are involved only because we did resist the onward progress of negro slavery to overspread a continent, the Congregational Union of England and Wales is divided, and does not know which side to take, and to save itself from painful agitation suppresses all discussion of the subject—this seemed to me a very sorrowful fact, and ominous of evil to the ministers and churches composing that body, and to England herself."

Now, in introducing George Thompson, Esq., of England (applause), who, I believe, sustains a relation to the Congregational body, but who does not appear here as a representative of that body in any sense, I take the liberty to say, in the name of this assembly, and in the name of all our brethren everywhere in this land, that we have no restriction to impose upon the topics on which he shall speak. If he has anything to say to us about Ireland, if he has anything to say to us about India, if he has anything to say to us about the efforts that patriotic and Christian men are making in England to abolish the State Church; and to have all churches stand upon the same footing of freedom and equality, he need not be afraid that we shall be displeased; nor, on the other hand, need he be afraid that we shall be displeased or divided if he shall speak freely of the great conflict that is agitating this country. We shall be glad to have him do this; for we know that he has spoken freely on that subject at home—just as freely as the pastor that preaches in this house has spoken there (applause). And if, at any time, Mr. Thompson should encounter opposition, tumultuous opposition, something approaching to a riot, he will be kind enough to recollect that our friend encountered opposition very much of the same sort last Summer in the kingdom of England—in the kingdom of cotton. You will all be glad to hear the eloquent and distinguished George Thompson, Esq., from England (great and enthusiastic applause).

George Thompson—I am very grateful, in the first place, to those by whose invitation I have been brought here to-night, and equally grateful for the freedom that has been given me, while, for a few moments, I shall stand before you to utter, without reserve, whatever I may feel inclined to submit to your consideration. I have been deeply pained while listening to that extract from a report made by a Congregational minister who lately visited England. I had hoped better things from the Congregational Union of England and Wales. I have witnessed with sorrow, during the last two years, that diversity of opinion which has caused the subject of the great conflict going on in this country to be excluded from the deliberations and discussions of that assembly. I am not here to-night to offer either explanation or apology for that body. I trust that the Congregational Union of this country may be faithful with the Congregational Union of England and Wales, and that, at their next gathering they may have made up their minds, and have arrived at a decision which shall be alike creditable to them and satisfactory to you (applause). Sir, I, like yourselves, have my mind filled to-night with one subject. My thoughts and my imagination, like those of every individual in this large assembly, have been where your armies are mustered, where your sons are falling, where the cannon is firing, and where the great contest is likely to be decided. And, while I have been with the Army of the Potomac, and taking a survey of your country at large, I have been reflecting in my mind what has caused all this, and to what will it lead. Each speaker that has risen on this platform to-night has declared his hatred of slavery. Why do you hate it? and, hating it, what will you do when you have abolished it? Why do you hate it? Do you hate it because it has been the cause of discord and contention between you and your brethren at the South? You do well to hate it for that reason. Do you hate it because it has often menaced the integrity of the States, and, at last, has rent those States in twain? You do well to hate it for that reason. Do you hate it because you believe that no solid peace, or future union, or any great and durable nationality can be yours while slavery remains? You do well to hate it for that reason. But do you not hate it for other reasons? and when it shall be abolished, will you not prove that you hate it for other reasons? Will you not prove that you did not put it down simply to restore the Union; that you did not put it down simply that thereafter you might be a united, and prosperous, and strong, and great nation? I trust that you mean to do more than to put down slavery; and I trust that you hate it not simply because it has rent your Union asunder, and has filled your land with the harsh sounds of war, but because, during your history as a nation, it has made merchandize of the bodies and the souls of men (applause). Oh, what an evil has slavery been to this country! Methinks that, if the fathers of your Revolution, the men who framed your Declaration of Independence, and who established that Constitution which has been the bond of your Union ever since its construction, could look down from heaven upon us tonight, and make their thoughts audible, and give you their counsel, they would counsel you to avoid in your future history the great error into which they fell. We have been told to-night, of the crocodile that the Hindoos took to their bosoms, and of the results which followed. Little did your fathers think, when they tolerated slavery, when they made provision for it in the Constitution, or when they granted to it by the Constitution certain privileges, and a certain protection, that in the life of a man such consequences would follow as those which we witness to night. They thought it but a little thing to grant what they deemed would be a brief life to slavery. They thought it was no great harm to form a Union with States that held amongst them some five hundred thousand of human beings in chattel bondage. They said "What is this compared with the establishment of this nation? What is this compared with that glorious career which we shall pursue when we have become a united people?" And so they spared the life of slavery. They spared it in the hope and in the belief that it would die. And they gave it six States to live in and to die in. And what followed? The six States became fifteen; and the five hundred thousand slaves became more than four million; and the two hundred thousand square miles of territory that then belonged to slavery became nearly eight hundred thousand square miles of territory; and the monied value of slaves in this country rose from two hundred million of dollars to two thousand five hundred million of dollars. And slavery lived—lived to grow; lived to expand; lived to become a governor of your country; and lived to be old enough, and strong enough, and wicked enough, to aim at the overthrow of the glorious institutions of this magnificent Republic. Now it is within your grasp. Now slavery totters to its fall. Already wounded, maimed, dislocated, prostrate, and helpless, it is at your feet. Put your heel upon its neck. Destroy it utterly. Then go on, my friends, to finish the good work, to lift the man who was enslaved into that liberty, that higher and better liberty, to which, I trust, his personal enfranchisement, will be but the prelude. I learn from your history, as I have learned from the history of other great nations, that lesson given to mankind at large, but so little practiced, that "righteousness alone exalteth a nation," and that "sin is a reproach to any people." I learn from your history that an error in the fundamental laws of a country is the seminal principle of revolution. This revolution that you witness to-day could not but have come. It could not have been averted. Two elements so opposite, so antagonistical, so eternally divided, and so eternally at war as slavery and freedom, could not have existed under one form of government. The one must have destroyed the other. Slavery must have become universal, and liberty extinguished, or liberty must have become triumphant, and slavery exterminated (applause). I am glad that you are absolved, utterly and forever, from those constitutional obligations and disabilities under which you labored when I was in this country some years ago. I was never insensible to the difficulties of emancipation here. I was no stranger to the limited powers of your President and your Congress, to the nature of State rights, etc. I was not ignorant of that feeling which repressed in the North the utterance of those convictions which I knew to be deeply implanted in the hearts of almost all the people of the Northern States. But now I know that those restraints are gone. Where you were called to respect the rights of loyal citizens, you are now called upon to punish and subdue perjured traitors (applause). You are now free to reconstruct your Union upon principles as broad as eternal justice, and as all-embracing as the love of Him who made of one blood all the families of the earth. You can now make your Union what you would have it. The Union that was, was made by your Revolutionary fathers, who loved their country, and desired, above all things, its prosperity, but yielded, in an evil hour, to the dictates of expediency, and sacrificed to Union what was intended for God and for mankind. But you begin again with the benefit of all their experience, and with the benefit of all that chastisement which is upon you tonight—the chastisement of a Heavenly Father that loves you. And the future Union will be all your own. And will you not lay righteousness to the line, and judgment to the plummet? Will you not cast out forever from the temple of liberty those who have sat therein to make merchandize of souls? Will you not resolve that your future Union shall be one within whose wide and all expanding limits there shall never again be a despot or a slave? I believe you will. I feel sure you will. If you will it you will do it; for whatever America wills, she does (applause). She wills a railway a thousand or fifteen hundred miles in a straight line, and it is made. Hills are levelled or tunnelled, difficulties all but insurmountable are overcome, and the end sought is accomplished. You desire to annex territory, and you find no difficulty in that. A prefext to go to war with Mexico is soon discovered, armies are mustered, the Colorado and the Rio Grande are passed, the capital is entered, terms are dictated to the inhabitants, and Territories and States are extemporized and populated in a year, and brought into the Union! You resolved to give a Fugitive Slave law to the men-stealers of the South, and although in doing it you did outrage to the feelings of one half of the States, although you flew in the face of universal Christendom, although you had to violate the law of God which says, "Thou shalt not deliver unto his master the servant which is escaped unto thee," you did it. But though a Moses Stuart, as I well remember, and as some on this platform also remember, wrote a very corpulent octavo pamphlet entitled "Conscience and the Constitution," to reconcile the people of New England to that execrable law; though a man of gigantic—some said God-like—intellect, went through the land calling on men everywhere to obey this law with alacrity, and to conquer their prejudice against it; and though meetings were held to recommend obedience to that law, you did not obey it. Thank Heaven, there is one thing that America cannot do: she cannot obey the laws she makes, when those laws at once infringe the dictates of her manhood, and trample on the rights of man (great applause). The man was much better than the politician; and he who would make eloquent speeches in the morning in support of compromise, would wink at the harboring of a fugitive slave when he got home at night, and would be anxious for the passage of Personal Liberty bills the next day! Now, you have but to will emancipation, and it will come, complete, entire, lacking nothing. But what I have to say further to-night is on behalf of the negro in the future. I do not think America's great work will be done when she has smittten the fetters from the limbs of the slaves. Nor do I believe the negro will be neglected. Oh, what shall I have to tell my countrymen when I go back! Oh, for one hour at the meeting of the Congregational Union of England and Wales! I would see if I could not decide their wavering and vacillating mind. I would tell them of the spectacles that I have witnessed since I came to this country; of the speeches that I have heard; of the miracles, almost, that I have seen; of the humane societies without number that have been formed; of the refreshment saloons of New York and Philadelphia; of the stupendous sum of two hundred and twelve million of dollars that has been raised in this country, exclusive of the government, for promoting the welfare of the soldiers of your army. Sir, make some allowance for England. They do not know your country. But forgive them. When they know you better, my friends, and understand the nature of this great conflict, they will, I hope and believe, do right. But with regard to the future of the negro. I want you to carry on and complete this great contest upon the highest possible motives, and for the highest possible objects. I trust that the negro will not simply be used to assist you in winning your battles, and then be left to fall a victim to the almost demoniacal fury of the people of the South; but that he will be regarded hereafter as a being entitled to a position amongst you perfectly equal to that which you concede to every other man who lands upon your shores (applause). When our Savior was upon earth, some one put to him the question. "Is it lawful to pay tribute to Cæsar, or not?" He said, "show me a penny;" and when it was shown him, he said, "Whose image and superscripton are these?" The reply was, "Cæsar's." Then said our Savior, "Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and render unto God the things that are God's." Now I do not want the negro rendered to the nation; I do not want him rendered to the future safety and harmony and prosperity of this country. I want you to unclothe him, to penetrate his dark skin, to look upon his immortal part; and when you have contemplated it in its mechanism, in the Providence that has watched over it, in the love that has been displayed toward it, in the redemption that has been paid for it, tell me, whose image and superscription is that? (Great applause.) And if your answer must be, "In his own image formed he man," then I say to America, render unto the Union that which belongs to the Union, but render unto God that which belongs to God! (Renewed applause.) Time must be allowed for this; but oh, what a great work have the Christian Churches of this country to do! Methinks I see them rising to the great, the noble, the humane task that lies before them. Four millions and a quarter of needy human beings will soon be in your midst. You know they have been again and again described as *the heathen of America*. You cannot have forgotten the many descriptions that have been given of the moral and spiritual condition of the negroes by Southern men and Southern pens. I have ringing in my ears at this moment the awful words of the Rev. Robert J. Breckinridge, some thirty years ago, in one of the convocations of the Presbyterian Church. I trust that the Christian Churches of this great republic, of all denominations, will lay their plans accordingly. I was much interested, when having an interview with Mr. Stanton, the other day, to have the question put to me by him, "Well, Mr. Thompson, when this is all over, what are we to do with the negro?" I said, "I am glad to hear you make the inquiry, because it leads me to believe that you have given your mind to the subject, and that you are prepared with a solution of the matter." He said, "I am. My solution is a simple one and an easy one, which meets the justice and the necessity of the case; and that is, to put the negro on the land, and make it his (applause). He was bought for the land; he was chained to the land; he cultivated the land, without reaping any share of the produce of his labor; the land has been bedewed with his tears, and sometimes with his blood; and he has a right to the land. And," said Mr. Stanton, "I have endeavored to carry out, on a small scale, in South Carolina, my plan; and what is being done there on a small scale I wish to see done upon a large scale—upon a scale commensurate at once with the rights and the claims of the negro." That is a very important question, and I think that is a very good answer to it. But there is a greater question; and that is, "How is the negro to be surrounded by such circumstances as will conduce to his elevation as an intellectual, and moral, and spiritual being?" It is a question which, I think, peculiarly belongs to the Christian churches of this country; and to them I confide that question. And now, sir, before sitting down, I have only to state the fact that I have, with joy, and exultation, and thankfulness, witnessed the glorious revolution that has taken place in this country. I have witnessed with feelings that I have never attempted to describe, because they have always been beyond utterance, this universal emancipation of the North. Blessed be God for evermore, the dreary night is well nigh passed; the slumbers of the North are o'er; the giant stands erect at last—you are free! My friends, you were not always so. God has ordained that, if you fix a fetter on the heel of the most wretched being in the universe, the other end will be bound fast around your neck, and you can only by self-enslavement become the enslavers of others. You are now free—gloriously free. You are not only free, but strong. You are not only free and strong, but you are fully enlightened as to the cause of your past calamities, and prepared, I believe, to gird up your loins, and, when this bloody conflict is ended, enter upon that field which will then be thrown open to you. Cultivate it, and make it blossom as the rose. May God give you zeal and strength and success in this great work; and may the time soon come when the hallelujahs of an enlightened and redeemed race shall take the place of the voice of mourning and of woe (applause).

THE METHODIST CHURCH.

[In the Methodist General Conference at Philadelphia, a few days since, the reports of the Committee on Slavery were discussed at great length. Majority and minority reports were presented. The former contained the following:]

MAJORITY REPORT.

We rejoice that we have from the beginning been among the foremost among American Churches in the contest against slavery. Slavery has nothing to commend it to our forbearance; on the other hand it has inflicted upon us injuries we cannot forget. It has rent the Church in twain, and seeks to divide the nation.

It has kindled the fires of inextinguishable hatred along an extended border, and brought indescribable distress on our brethren who have labored there. These brethren we not only admire and love, but we pledge ourselves to share with them all that is possible or necessary in the labors of the future.

Loyalty to the government leads us to accept emancipation, whenever and wherever the President proclaims it, or the States decree it, and devotion to truth and to God impels us to bring the controversy to an end in the Church, by adopting a rule which casuistry cannot distort into a license for slavery.

We recommend for adoption the following resolutions:

Resolved, 1. By the delegates of the several Annual Conferences, in General Conference assembled, that we recommend the amendment to the General Rule on Slavery, so that it shall read: "Slaveholding, buying or selling slaves."

Resolved, 2. That we recommend the suspension of the fourth restrictive rule for the purpose set forth in the foregoing resolution.

Resolved, 3. That the Bishops be requested to submit the foregoing resolution to the Annual Conferences, at their next sessions, and if the requisite number of votes be obtained, to report to the Book Agents, who are hereby instructed to insert the new rule in all subsequent editions of the Discipline.

Rev. Colonel Moody moved the adoption of the majority report. He was glad the brethren had united at this point. In the words of Patrick Henry, he deemed it a duty which he owed to the sanctity of our holy religion, to declare with emphasis that slavery is in utter antagonism with our holy Christianity. We are about to strike the fatal blow, and lay this monster low by the moral vote which we are about to record. We are about to cleanse the Church of this nuisance. He hoped there would be a vote that would be a thundering blow to the rebellion and its sympathizers.

MINORITY REPORT.

[A minority report was presented, signed by Rev. Mr. Phelps, of Baltimore, and Rev. Mr. Reeves, of Kentucky, as follows:]

The minority of the Committee on Slavery beg leave to say that they have not been able to concur with the majority in the conclusions reached by them. For good and sufficient reasons, as they think, it would not be proper to change the general rule on slavery, so as to exclude all persons sustaining the relation of master from the Church; they, therefore, respectfully submit the following as a substitute for the general rule on slavery, reported by the majority:

"The selling of human beings, or the buying or holding them, except for reasons purely humane."

The previous question was called and the vote by yeas and nays was ordered, which was taken amid the most breathless attention of the multitudes present, and resulted as follows:—yeas, 190; nays, 8.

DEPUTATION TO THE PRESIDENT.

Washington, May 18, 1864.

A deputation of delegates from the General Conference in session at Philadelphia visited the President to-day and presented to him an address, in which the Conference, representing nearly a million of members, express to him the assurance of the loyalty of the Church, her earnest devotion to the interests of the country, and her sympathy with him in the great responsibilities of his high position in this trying hour. They honor him for his proclamation of liberty, and rejoice in all the acts of the government designed to secure freedom to the enslaved. In conclusion, they say: "Actuated by the sentiments of the loftiest and purest patriotism, our prayer shall be continually for the preservation of our country undivided, for the triumph of our cause, and for a permanent peace, gained by the sacrifice of no moral principles, but founded on the Word of God, and securing, in righteousness, liberty and equal rights to all."

To which address the President replied as follows:

Gentlemen: In response to your address, allow me to attest to the accuracy of its historical statements, endorse the sentiments it expresses, and thank you in the nation's name for the sure promise it gives. Nobly sustained as the government has been by all the Churches, I would utter nothing which might in the least appear invidious against any. Yet, without this, it may fairly be said that the Methodist Episcopal Church, not less devoted than the best, is, by its greater numbers, the most important of all. It is not a fault in others that the Methodist Church sends more soldiers to the field, more nurses to the hospitals, and more prayers to heaven than any other. God bless the M. E. Church; bless all the Churches, and blessed be God, who in this, our great trial, giveth us the Churches.

Subsequently Rev. Dr. Thornton, delegate from the English Conference to the Methodist General Conference, together with Dr. Scott, from the Irish Conference, was presented to the President by Hon. M. F. Odell. These delegates expressed to the President the earnest and hearty sympathy of the Methodist membership of England and Ireland in the present national struggle, and their desires for our success.

THE THREE ROCKS.

The Three Rock Mountain, about seven miles from Dublin, commands an extensive view of the Irish sea, of many of the Counties of Leinster, and, in clear weather, of the highlands of Ulster and Wales, which last are nearly ninety miles distant as the crow flies. This Mountain is so called from three conspicuous granitic masses, of natural formation, though not unlike Druidical cairns, which crown its summit. It is celebrated in history as the retreat of Owen Roe O'Neill, a famous chieftain, when hunted by his English enemies. Very near its foot stands the picturesque ruins of Kilgobbin Castle, one of the old fortresses erected to protect the settlers from the native septs.

"Brethren, standing here together,
On the mountain high,
With the world spread out beneath you,
And, above, the sky,
Tell me whence ye have arisen,
Tell me by what might,
Toiling up the rugged hillside,
Ye have gained this height.

"Are ye of that giant people,
By the legends told,
Who inhabited creation
In the days of old?
Did ye loiter, earth forgetting,
On this mountain lone,
Till time, freezing up your life-blood,
Turned you into stone?

"Or, when spirits held dominion
Over all mankind,
And in mystic transformation
Could their victims bind,
Did they bid you thus for ever
Motionless to stand,
Doomed to dreary isolation
In your native land;

"Seeing fellow mortals only
In the distance dim,
Hearing but the sea's far murmur,
And the lark's sweet hymn?"
"Like thyself, oh! fragile Mortal,
We are born of earth,
But, though earthly, we are children
Of no mortal birth.

"By no toiling up the hillside
Did we hither climb,
By no mystic transformation
In the olden time;
In the distance of the ages,
When the world was young,
Ere mankind was yet created,
From the earth we sprung.

"Deep within her dark recesses,
Where we grew to life,
Mighty sons of Mother Nature
Met in awful strife,
Till earth's surface yawned asunder,
Neath the troubled sky,
And the elements contending
Hurled us here on high."

"Hoary Brethren, on this mountain
Standing all alone,
Ye have read the untold pages
Of the ages flown;
Tell me now the wondrous story
Of the buried past,
Tell me all that ye have witnessed
In you region vast."

"Ere we could relate this story,
Mortal, unto thee,
Night would draw her shadowy mantle
Over land and sea;
Yet, since thou wouldst know the record
Of the years gone by,
Learn some things which we have witnessed
From our throne on high.

"We have seen that land beneath us
One wide forest green,
With no houses sprinkled o'er it,
With no roads between;
With no human beings living
On the land or shore,
But strange living creatures only,
Which we see no more.

"We have seen the country peopled
With wild clans of men,
Dwelling in rude leafy wigwams
Pitched by tree or fen;
Frail canoes upon the ocean,
Keeping near the land;
Little naked children playing
On the long sea strand.

"We have seen the city rising
Where the river flows,
Seen its citizens contending
With surrounding foes.
We have seen the English stranger
Strike the natives down,
Ruling with a rod of iron
Over land and town.

"We have seen the nations blending
In one peaceful rule,
Seen the city spire ascending,
Seen the village school;
We have seen white houses rising
All the country o'er;
Watched the railroad span the country,
And surround the shore;

"Watched majestic ships and steamers
Pass before our view,
Till they faded from our vision,
In the distance blue.
In the years which now are passing
Very oft we see,
Standing on this hill beside us,
Mortals like to thee;

"Some who gaze in meditation
On the world below,
On the mountains all around them,
Or the ocean's flow;
Some who grave upon our surface
Records of a name
All too weak to mark the tablets
Of undying fame.

"Many a one who sat and pondered
On the days of old,
Cried, 'What wondrous revelations
Could these piles unfold!'
But not one of all these mortals
Ever until now,
Trusting in our common nature,
Questioned us till thou."

"Aged Brethren, ever standing
On this height sublime,
Look, I pray you, towards the region
Of the coming time;
Tell me where mankind is marching,
As the centuries go,
Whither time is ever tending
In its onward flow."

"Future things, oh! restless Mortal,
Now we cannot see,
Time's unopened finished pages
Cannot read to thee;
Only do the past and present
Lie within our reach,
Pondering on their revelations,
Learn what these may teach.

"We have seen the bright sun setting,
Evenings without count,
Every morn unchanged we view him
In the Orient mount;
Evermore unchanged the wild bees
'Mid the heathbells throng;
Through all years the lark, unchanging,
Sings the same old song.

"Evermore unchanged the mountains
Rear their rugged crests;
Evermore unchanged the light cloud
On their dark side rests.
Still no change in bud or blossom,
Snow, or rain, or wind,
In the billows' distant music,
Or ourselves we find;

"But thy race has chang'd unceasing,
Through the ages slow,
Since we saw the painted savage
On the land below.
Soul-enchained by superstition,
Bowing down to stone;
Until now, when, through time's teaching,
Man has wiser grown,

Grown in arts and grown in manners,
Grown in power and skill;
Learned to bend the powers of nature
To his stronger will;
Learned how slowly but how surely
That the right has might;
Learned how feebly but how truly
Still to seek its light.

"As the midnight darkness fadeth
When the sunbeams shine,
Silently the wrong shall vanish
In the light divine."
"But, oh! Brethren wise and hoary,
Brethren old and gray,
Still ye see the dark'ning shadows
Cloud the brightest day.

"And, while mortals still are mortal,
There must still be pain,
Toil and trouble, sin and sorrow,
Biting wind and rain;
Shall we never, toiling ever,
Reach a higher life?
Shall we never, striving ever,
Rest us from the strife?"

"Troubled Mortal, ever seeking,
Never finding rest,
We have watched the wild goat browsing
On the mountain's breast;
Nought he questions of past ages,
Nought of times to be;
Nought of all the earth's rich beauty
Doth he care to see.

"Only for the tender herbage
Round him doth he care,
Always finding what he seeketh
Springing everywhere.
We have watched the glad larks singing
In their upward flight,
Till they rose above the white cloud,
And were out of sight;

"And as earthward they descended,
In their downward track,
Joyfully they still were singing,
As they journeyed back.
Nought they cared to follow further
To some higher sphere;
All their wishes, all their longings,
Are accomplished here.

"But ye feel full many a longing
Earth cannot supply;
There must be some Fount fulfilling
These aspirings high;
There must be some other region,
Be some higher life,
Where the toil shall end in gladness,
And in peace the strife."

"Brethren, thanks, our still communion
Shall not be in vain;
Lingeringly I leave your presence
For the world again;
Long may ye remain unshaken!
Firmer faith be mine
In man's ever onward progress,
And its goal divine!"

Dublin, Ireland. A. W.

ANNIVERSARIES.

The Anti-Slavery Meetings, as usual, drew great multitudes. The spirit of these gatherings was truly noble. We have never seen audiences more magnetic or more inspiring to a speaker. When they sang, or when they cheered, their voices welled up out of hearts overflowing with patriotic enthusiasm. When they sat listening, their countenances bore an expression of earnestness and sympathy which, to those who looked on from the platform, was striking and remarkable. Probably a more intelligent, refined, and noble-minded audience never was assembled in the city of New York than the great and beatiful company that crowded Cooper Institute on Wednesday evening. The oratora were worthy of the occasion. When George Thompson, William Lloyd Garrison, and Wendell Phillips speak on the same evening, and to the same audience, how can sensible people help being pleased? Not oftener than once in ten years do frequenters of public meetings have the good fortune to attend so spirited and memorable a meeting as this the chief and crowning glory of this year's anniversaries. Mr. Phillips's picture of the present critical situation of the Cause of Liberty appeared to many to be overdrawn. Mr. Garrison's greater hopefulness won a more positive and demonstrative response from the popular heart. But it is a double gain to a good cause to point out both its promises and its perils. He who warns is no less a prophet than he who gives good cheer. There is one beautiful aspect of this divergency of opinion between two such old co-workers as Mr. Phillips and Mr. Garrison—they differ in as friendly a spirit as that in which most other men agree. God bless them both, and spare their lives to see Peace and Freedom in the land!

We ought to say that all the anniversary meetings, even those of the hitherto conservative and drag-wheel societies, were this year eminently patriotic in tone, not blinking the great questions of the day, not afraid to call a man a man, and showing, on the whole, that Galileo's discovery has been lately rediscovered, which is, that "The world moves!"

The Congregational Re-union at Plymouth Church, Brooklyn, was as anti-slavery as the Anti-Slavery meetings themselves. The presence of George Thompson as the chief guest of the evening, who made a noble and eloquent speech, touching all hearts and consciences, and awakening repeated bursts of responsive applause, was a delight to all present. The man who was persecuted years ago is honored now—not because of any change in him, for he remains the same, but because of a great and marvelous change in the opinions of the people, whose faces have been lately turned as from darkness to light.—*Independent.*

A NEGRO BISHOP.

A Negro Bishop! Such is the cheering fact which we have to announce to all true friends of Africa. Since the days of St. Cyprian no Episcopal appointment has possessed greater interest or significance than the elevation of Samuel Crowther to the bishopric of the Niger. "Better late than never"; but the appointment ought nevertheless to have been made long ago. When white Bishops were dying in rapid succession at Sierre Leone the tide of martyrdom should have been stopped by the nomination of an African clergyman to that diocese. There were reasons why that was not done—reasons which, traced to their origin, assumed the form of repugnance to a black superintendent of white missionaries. However, at last a negro Bishop is to be consecrated, and the fertile valley of the Niger will be the scene of his heroic labors. There is a peculiar fitness in the selection which has been made of Mr. Crowther. A native African by birth; wrested from his home and kindred by the traders in the souls and bodies of men; rescued from the horrors of the middle passage and of chattel slavery by a British cruiser; educated in England for the Church and sent back again to his native country, in which he has labored as a missionary for many years—his varied and romantic experiences peculiarly fit him, in the maturity of his age, for the high and responsible office to which he has been called, and for the duties of which we trust he will long be spared. Mr. Crowther, we are glad to say, is to be no lord Bishop but a simple missionary Bishop; thus following the example of the venerated Dr. Weeks, to whom he ascribes his conversion to Christianity and his subsequent introduction to the missionary work, and who, when he was elevated to the see of Sierre Leone, declined the lordly portion of the title. The Bishop designate of the Niger gives an encouraging account of the results of missionary labor in the country from which he has just come—that Abeokuta where the people are rapidly being converted from a community of slave-traders into cultivators of cotton and peaceful artisans and laborers of the soil. All success to his efforts in the wider field of labor in which he is about to engage, and may the slave hunt and fetish worship soon cease to be practiced in the populous villages which skirt the banks of the Niger.—*London Dial.*

[Another English paper gives the following account of the new Bishop.]

His history, extending over fifty years and more, from a state of abject servitude to the episcopate, is a very romantic one, and attracted the attention of her Majesty and the late Prince Consort, by whom he was graciously received at Windsor on one of his visits to this country. His original name was Adjai, and his family lived at Ochugu, in the Yorubu country, one hundred miles inland from the Bight of Benin. In 1821 he was carried off by the Eyo Mahometans, was exchanged for a horse, was again exchanged at Dahdah, and cruelly treated, was then again sold as a slave for some tobacco, was captured by an English ship-of-war, and landed at Sierre Leone in 1822. He was baptized in 1825, taking the names of the Evangelical vicar of Christ Church, Newgate-street, Samuel Crowther. In 1829 he married Asano, a native girl, who had been taught in the same school with him. He was then for some years schoolmaster of Regent's Town, and subsequently accompanied the first Niger expedition. Arrived in England, he was sent to the Church Missionary College, Islington, and was ordained by the Bishop of London. In 1854 he accompanied the second Niger expedition, of which he has written a very able account. He has since been an active clergyman at Akessa, and has translated the Bible into Yorubu, and has undertaken various other literary works of a religious character for the benefit of his African brethren. The new Bishop is a strong evangelical, but has not mixed himself up with doctrinal controversy.

GARIBALDI AND VICTOR HUGO.

"TO VICTOR HUGO, HAUTEVILLE HOUSE.

"Prince's Gate, London, 22d April, 1864.

"Dear Victor Hugo: To visit you in your exile was with me more than a desire—it was a duty; but many circumstances prevent me.

"I hope you will understand that, distant or near, I am never separated from you, and from the noble cause you represent. Always yours,

"G. Garibaldi."

[*Reply.*]

"Hauteville House, 24th April, 1864.

"Dear Garibaldi: I have not written to you to come because you would have come, and whatever might have been my delight to take you by the hand—you, the true hero—whatever joy I might have had to receive you in my house, I knew that you were better occupied: you were in the arms of a nation, and one man has not the right to take you away from a people.

"Guernsey salutes Caprera, and perhaps one day may visit it. In the meantime, let us love one another.

"The people of England at the present moment presents a noble spectacle. Be the guest of England after having been the Liberator of Italy. This is beautiful and grand. He that is applauded is followed. Your triumph in England is a victory for Liberty. The Old Europe of the Holy Alliance trembles at it. The reason is, that there is no great distance from these acclamations to deliverance.

"Your friend, Victor Hugo."

VISIT OF GEN. HUNTER TO THE MISSISSIPPI PLANTATIONS.

HIS VIEWS OF THE MILITARY SITUATION.

A Vicksburg correspondent of the Cincinnati *Gazette*, writing May 8, says:

"I had the pleasure of a long conversation with Major-Gen. Hunter a few evenings since, while he was on his way up North, after an official visit to Gen. Banks's Department, and I do not know that I can do better than give the substance of that conversation, which he held with the distinct understanding that I was a correspondent.

"He is of the decided opinion that cotton has corrupted to some extent both army and navy; and that, except the cotton is seized by the government, it should not allow citizens to follow the army and trade in it. He condemned, in the most unequivocal terms, the 'feeding with one hand and fighting with the other' policy, and stated as his firm belief that just so long as it was pursued we might look for defeat, or at least we could not expect success.

"He said that it was his intention to represent the matter thus to the Executive, and to urge upon it the absolute necessity of pursuing a strictly war policy upon the Lower Mississippi. He did not believe in the loyalty of any considerable portion of the South-western seceded States, and he believed that it would have been far better for us if half the energies expended in protecting and conciliating those people had been directed to the care, protection and education, even as soldiers, of the negroes in the Mississippi Valley. He condemned heartily the leased plantation scheme, and said that as now carried out the negroes were cheated and illy provided for. He instanced this at considerable length, and mentioned the fact that of fully a half of the wages to be paid the hands were defrauded by selling them brass trinkets as jewelry, upon which the rascally trader realizes at the rate of five thousand per cent. If this did not come from a source so trustworthy and authentic, it would seem but reasonable to scout it as absurd.

"Gen. Hunter is also of the decided opinion that the government owes it to itself to adopt a retaliatory policy on account of the Fort Pillow butchery, and that the most vigorous measures must be adopted to correct the outrages upon life and property, if the plantation scheme is continued. Not a day passes but intelligence reaches the military posts of from one to five plantations being 'raided' by guerillas, *and in each case a number of negroes are invariably shot dead or hung.*"

Monument to Owen Lovejoy.—It is intended to erect to the memory of the late Owen Lovejoy, of Princeton, Illinois, a monument which, in the words of a circular now before us, "shall be at once worthy of the man and of the sacred cause to which he gave his life, and which shall transmit to future generations an enduring memorial of the earnest, heroic and unfaltering spirit with which he contended for the rights of man, and also evince in some measure the gratitude of those who were witnesses of his unwearied labors, through the period of more than a quarter of a century, for the redemption of our country from the blot and curse of African slavery." A preliminary meeting has been held, a Committee of Correspondence appointed and a great public meeting called at Princeton on the 1st of June, at which addresses will be delivered by President Sturtevant, of Illinois College, Mr. Giddings, Gen. Neal Dow, and others.

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